THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

The Aesthetics of French Taste: How French Colonial Epistemologies Shapeshift Into Class-Oriented Practices in Modern Egypt in the 1826-1950 Period

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirement of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative Literature

by

Najah Azzouzi

March 2023

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Jeffrey Sacks, Co-Chairperson
Dr. Heidi Brevik-Zender, Co-Chairperson
Dr. David Lloyd

The Dissertation of Najah Azzouzi is approved:

_____

_____

_____

Committee Co-Chairperson

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge and give my warmest thanks to my supervisors, Professors, Heidi Brevik-Zender and Jeffrey Sacks who made this work possible. Their guidance and advice carried me through all the stages of writing my dissertation project. Professor Zender's unwavering support and trust meant I could pick up my work and continue writing during moments of doubt and exhaustion. In addition to her invaluable expertise in nineteenth-century European modernity and French material culture, Professor Zender's close reading of my Arabic references and observations have always been prompt and thorough. Professor Sacks' fascinating book recommendations and diverse Arabic scholarly interests pushed my work into directions I had not thought possible. His in-depth knowledge of Arabic and of *Nahda* scholarship was coupled with a liberal approach in supervising my work, which enabled me to explore novel areas and build original thematic connections.

My profound gratitude to Distinguished Professor, David Lloyd, from UCR's English Department for being part of my PhD dissertation committee and for taking the time to supervise and follow my work and for always providing encouraging feedback.

I would also like to give special thanks to my parents, Omar Azzouzi and Amina Himmichi for instilling in me the love of education and the cultural curiosity to pursue a graduate education far from home. I also thank my son, Sayf, for bearing with the pressures and privations of having a student-mother who at times prioritized work over family.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Aesthetics of French Taste: How French Colonial Epistemologies Shapeshift Into Class-Oriented Practices in Modern Egypt in the 1826-1950 Period

by

Najah Azzouzi

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program Comparative Literature
University of California, Riverside, March 2023
Dr. Jeffrey Sacks and Dr. Heidi Brevik-Zender, Co-Chairpersons

This dissertation argues that, in the 1820s-1940s period, Eurocentric colonial discourses pushed Egypt's (post)colonial Francophone literati and nationalists into taking up French taste as a measure of progress. European taste was more than a social marker and a tool for achieving mobility, it became an ethnographic and civilizatonal sign. Francophone Egypt had a complicated relationship with France however, and clang to native Muslim family values and structures while it strove to affirm its competence in matters of French distinction. Simultaneously, it had grasped its exotic place in France's economy of desire, which nationalists, like Mustapha Kamil and Ya'qub Sanu', later rhetorically deployed in winning French allies against colonial Britain. However, King Faruk Fuad's ascension to Egypt's throne in the early 1930s marked an increase in hegemony and the dominance of European gender and family values in the illustrated press. Through photographs, the latter presented the king's Westernized and French-speaking female relatives as national ideals of feminine morality and domesticity, thus normalizing European gender and family practices and relegating Muslim social culture to the margin

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Since Naploeon Bonaparte left Egypt in 1801, the country grappled with European modernity in relation to Egyptian native identity, for French colonialism (1798-1801) had left its mark on the social, political, and economic structures of the country. More importantly, the relationship of tutelage France had maintained with Egypt produced French-Egyptian encounters and exchanges that were later felt at the level of its national reform discourses. The writings of al-Tahtawi (1801-1873), Mohamed al-Muwaylihi (1858-1930), Mustapha Kamil (1874-1908), and Ya'qub Sanu' (1839-1912) reflected Egypt's exposure to the liberal politics of the modern nation-state and its concern to prove Egypt's authentic place within civilized history. More significantly, it showed Egypt's Francophone intellectuals and nationalists' imbibement with a particular Franco-European urban, social, and moral aesthetic that not only influenced their relationship with their native Muslim culture, but became a yardstick for measuring Egypt's progress and its participation in modernity. Western aesthetic judgment, otherwise modern Franco-European taste, became modular for Egypt's bourgeois nationalists whose reform discourses often critiqued Egyptian social forms and visual structures on the basis of their adherence to Eurpean aesthetic appeal.

This taste problematic was compounded by British colonial discourse's vicious attacks on Egyptian native social and family practices later in the 1880s, often associating Islam with backwardness, poverty, and the unequal status of women. Egypt's women were central to this debate, for France and Britain's fixation on the Muslim veil directed Egypt's

Francophone intellectuals and elites to the outward forms of Egyptian culture, such as women's physical appearance and other highly-performative social practices like being schooled in missionary French schools and speaking French. Attacked on this front, Egypt's reformers made a conscious effort to adopt aesthetically-appealing modern European practices to such a degree that their reform logics became dominated by French taste. In the Egyptian literature at hand, good Franco-European taste was consistently normalized and discursively held as an indicator of good national moral character.

But Egypt's Francophone intellelctuals' relationship to French taste was far from simple, as illustrated by Kamil and Sanu', often revealing a complex dynamic where Egyptians maneuvered in and out of European culture, adopting and abondoning French taste as befit the occasion. French tutelage had enabled Egyptian Francophone intellectuals to understand Orientalism and grasp the role Egypt played in French economies of desire. Their Competence in French also gave them a political advantage in international diplomacy as illustratd by Kamil and Sanu''s effective communication with the French and their ability to gain European allies for their cause of national independence from Britain.

European taste's relationship to evolutionary politics and to modern progress in the Egyptian (post)colonial context was first noted with Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) almost a century before Kamil and Sanu'. A pioneering Francophone nationalist and the first to reflect Egypt's relationship of tutelage with the French, his seminal work, *Takhliss* (1826-1831) shows his early participation in modernity's universalist condition of subjectivity,[1] for he engaged in deliberate attempts at self-knowledge and reflected a rich

[1] See Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 1951 [1790], 57.

evolving inner experience while in France looking at appealing French sartorial, urban, and social forms as indicative of European progress.[2] As a (post)colonial subject under French tutelage in early nineteenth-century Paris, he experienced the material conditions of European modern subjectivity firsthand, which pushed him into ethnographic comparative examinations and ontological questions. As a reform manual, *Takhliss*, took up pressing identity questions for Tahtawi, who struggled to reconcile a glorious Muslim past with a degnerate present while examining French progress in its concrete forms. The French class forms observed in Paris inspired Tahtawi's reactions to his native social culture and motivated ontological Muslim questions as well. The logic of taste being a measure of civility dominated some of his observations and evaluations of native Egyptian culture and became intermeshed with his production of self-knowledge. The logic of class dominates his narrative, which while motivated by novelty and travel, still had a reform aim at its heart.

Nahda scholarship examined important civilizational phenomena highly pertinent to the concept of class, such as dominating developmentalist and progress logics, socio-political and cultural-reform anxieties, and persisting ethnographic comparative practices, yet cholars overlooked how *Nahda* intellectuals and reformers invariably expressed future visions of themselves and of their societies that privileged European taste, both as indicative of progress and as an expression of civilizational anxiety. In fact, they examined

[2] These scholars do not belong to the social category whom Spivak calls the subaltern, those who cannot speak for themselves due to their exclusion from the linguistic and discursive forms of middle-class and elite self-affirmation dominant in the nation-state.

(post)colonial Arab subjectivity in light of the material conditions of modernity, namely Western colonial domination, an understanding of Arab experience within universal history, the universal condition of Western science as world order of knowledge, universalist liberal politics, evolutionary reform discourses, capitalist markets, an explosion in print culture, and the increasing facility of travel. But *Nahda* scholarship has yet to examine how the discourse of taste permeates modernity's politics and conveys logics consistent with nineteenth-century evolutionist notions.

One cannot study modern Egyptian identity without paying special attention to the material conditions and the class channels through which relationships of travel, colonial tutelage, and translation took place. Nor can one ignore Egypt's intellectual and reformer's obsession with appealing performative forms of national character and the meliorist logics that dominated their assessment of the native status quo. The concept of Egyptian class identity in relation to Arab/Muslim self-awareness also brings up questions that relate to the notion of (post)colonial agency and knowledge of self. Also, my dissertation points at the inevitability of the formation of Arab bourgeois subjectivity in Egypt, which was produced out of Egypt's participation in the material conditions of modernity with its booming cotton productivity since the 1860s and its participation in international economics.

Another issue that complicates our understanding of the *Nahda* subject is his own prejudiced knowledge production vis-à-vis himself and European subjectivity. The nineteenth-century Arab (Egyptian) traveler to Europe and exposure to the unfamiliar had unpredictable consequences, and like his for-ever-evolving consciousness, it articulated

and transformed the parameters of home and the foreign through his production of knowledge about the unfamiliar. The very translation of France by al-Tahtawi, being a gesture of knowledge production, simultaneously required a perspective of critical distance and undertook deterministic conclusions, which had the effect of hardening ethnographic prejudices (Euben, 2006). This further complicated the project of Arab self-knowledge because it affirmed itself through opposition with Europe, leading at times to a self-ethnographic practice, which can itself deny the *Nahda* subject's sharing in the universalist condition of modernity. The Francophone Egyptian's persistent articulation of European taste was way to restore the balance, to deny his presumed inability to participate in modernity due to his ethnographic difference.

My work pays attention to social and cultural expressions of power because it is situated within the exchange relations of coloniality, which themselves coincided with nineteenth-century modernity. The latter's emphasis on self-fashioning via visually-peformative acts, consumerism, travel, and exchange turned taste for the modern subject into a modern sign par excellence. I see the bourgeois/elites/middle-class postcolonial Egyptian subject as one who shared in the universalist condition of European subjectivity, one who was receptive of the same material conditions as the European and one who enjoyed a great level of self-awareness within an environment of increased travel and exchange. He was at once attracted to appealing forms of colonial power and critical of the racial and ethnographic implications it produced within the (post)colonial national context. Self-determination, self-improvement and progress were naturally important goals in the (post)colonial context, making the concretization and performativity of power and

knowledge necessary. This turned outer forms of power and knowledge, such as aesthetic judgment, taste and the logic of class, to important ideological weapons and symbols for modern Arab (Egyptian) self-affirmation. Egypt's urban centers, like Cairo and Alexandria, had some of the same conditions of modernity present in Europe, such as the prominence of consumerism, the dominance of the image, print culture, and mobility, which encouraged the performance of moral character through taste.

Another factor which favored the dominance of class logics in *Nahda* literature was European modernity's discursive ubiquity, often assuming the appealing rhetoric of self-improvement and social-mobility. Modernity was, in fact, an aesthetico-political phenomenon that was inventing a particular urban bourgeois identity receptive of a constant influx of cosmopolitan visual and sensual stimuli as it self-consciously practiced its liberal individuality[3]. The subject of modernity conceived of himself/herself as self-reinventing, and enjoyed the stage-like quality of modern urban living, providing propitious conditions for the performativity of self. Like his European counterpart, the Arab subject was a desiring individual, one who derived pleasure from the material conditions of modernity on the one hand, and from the nineteenth-century social and cultural dynamics of exchange with Europe. And while the relations between the French and the Egyptian were unequal due to first being situated within European coloniality, the French-Egyptian encounter was not always governed by violence nor was it always

[3] While Hahn does not use the terms "subjective positionality," her emphasis on the individual's exposure to urban modernity's phenomena and the subjectivity that emanates out of that particular interactivity points to her concurrence with me, hence my coining of the phrase.

generative of rigid civilizational and power dichotomies, like colonizer-colonized, seducer-seduced, developed-degenerate, and so on.

In tracing the beginning literary and political self-representation of modern Egyptian middle-class subjectivity, I go back to the early modern exchange relations between France and Egypt, and I lend special importance to such psychic relational and cultural exchange dynamics, as the Arab subject/traveler's reception of European epistemologies, Parisian urban modernity, and the desire and sensibility French social, urban, and epistemological forms stimulated within Arab subjectivity. In Chapter One, "Al-Tahtawi Between Taste and the Eurocentric Epistemes of Bourgeois Subjectivity," I analyze the ways in which these are productive of the Arab intellectual's aesthetic and rational judgments a l'européenne and the ways in which many ideological negotiations were undertaken by the Arab traveler to accept, justify, and to incorporate those judgements. In this context, Al-Tahtawi's *Takhliss* (1826-1831[4]), is replete with moments and renditions of life in France that were both filtered through his Arab/Muslim subjective constitution and at the same time produced out of an evolving experience of self and of Other while in Paris. Being both a reform manual engaged with learning European modern structures and sciences and a report of individual exposure to French culture, *Takhliss* is also a story of the self, a developing literary and psychic narrative motivated by a (post)colonial rational project of self-ontology. When studying al-Tahtawi's mode of engaging with France and the connection of the latter with his translation practice of

[4] See Tahtawi *1824-1831.*

European knowledge and Egyptian reform, I invoke the role of his sensation-based judgments in yielding his civilizational verdicts on both France and Egypt and his carving up of his place in universal history, and I particularly underline the place of taste and the appeal of social, behavioral, and political French forms in his evolving knowledge of self and of Europe.

Other theorists who studied al-Tahtawi noted his engagement with European epistemologies and his espousal of the Cartesian mode of judgment and of knowledge production, and though they connected this to the disciplinarian forms of the Egyptian nation state and with a changed perspective that was seeing the world as picture, they neglected the performative subjective forms that emanated out of them, namely those of class.[5] The logic of taste that I emphasize is aligned with the universalist condition in which al-Tahtawi found himself while in Europe, being implicated in interconnections between European power and Egypt. Notions such as the pleasure of discovery, universal history, and the civilizational discourse, which sprang out of attempts to place oneself within the evolutionary trajectory of history as an Arab/Muslim subject was in a mutual constitutive relationship with progress.

In fact, Marwa el-Shakry saw al-Tahtawi's logic in narrating the Muslim self in history as an example of his espousal of the evolutionary discourse of universal history. Evolution was being understood as social progression, which explains why al-Tahtawi translated universal history works by Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and others as

[5] See Mitchell 1999.

contribution to Arab *Nahda* in Egypt. She invoked al-Tahtawi's empire anxieties as motivators for translating European power and knowledge in order to regain Arab/Muslim past glory, emphasizing that understanding one's place in universal history was a "blueprint" that had the "power to recast the future" for *Nahda* reformers.[6] According to Marwa el-Shakry, *Nahda* thinkers understood Darwin's evolutionary biology as a doctrine of social and moral progress with notions, such as the "survival of the fittest" being exemplary of European civilizational power. She went so far as to indicate that Darwin's evolutionary discourse was espoused cross-confessionally in the Arab world by an elite class of reformers and that the real ideological divisions sprang from class differences. "Neither theology nor politics separated Muslim and Christian readers of Darwin for much of this period. In fact, the real divide would prove to be one of social standing—between this cross-confessional elite and a later, both more popular and populist, reader ship."[7] I see this as a great example of the appeal evolutionary biology had within Arab elite classes, suggesting a pre-existing intellectual and moral environment, which was class-based in essence. They took upon themselves the project of modern reform when they had already been immersed intellectually and aesthetically in the modern universalist condition of the subject. Others like Stephen Sheehi emphasized the developmentalist polar terms, such as "success-failure," "presence-lack," "progress-backwardness," as endemic to the universalist condition of *Nahda* subjectivity, arguing that this developmentalist lexicography constituted the modern epistemology of postcolonial *Nahda* subjectivity [8].

[6] Marwa El-shakry 2014, 9

[7] Ibid., 12.
[8] Sheehi 2004, 13.

This civilizational logic of polar evolutionist categories shared the same meliorist conceptual structure that dominated social mobility, and which in fact motivated a multitude of social, didactic, and political programs spearheaded by Egypt's elites, such as al-Tahtawi's national project of translation.

Taste is a concrete performance of power and knowledge whose practice can be provoked by the same anxieties and comparisons generated by travel. The link between travel, translation, power, knowledge, and class is solid in the *Nahda* context and lies in their sharing of the same mechanisms. The connection between travel and the pursuit of knowledge is perhaps most explicit in the Muslim tradition, making the two terms synonymous, for they both transcend cultural and historical boundaries, and more importantly they evoke "resonances and anxieties across language and time." [9] Coming in direct contact with the foreign for al-Tahtawi occasioned the same anxieties and comparisons created by being in direct contact with French cultures of distinction.[10] He had to face unfamiliar performative social practices that were, while appealing to his senses, generative of social and cultural inadequacy, which resulted in his French-Egypt oppositional ethnographic dialectics. But as a traveler, theorist, translator, and reformer, he sought to go beyond the ethnographic and class limitations he faced as a colonial subject under French tutelage and attain a certain mobility through national progress[11]. This

[9] Euben 2006, 41.

[10] Bourdieu 1979.

[11] Abu-Lughod 1963; El-Ariss 2013; Euben 2006; Louca 1970; Massad 2001; Sheehi 2004.

naturally turned his translation of French modernity manuals and philosophical oeuvres into a didactic and pedagogical practice focused on improving moral character.

In Chapter Two, "The Orientalist Modalities in the Expression of Desire and Taste in *La Jongleuse,*" I Look at Egypt from outside as a desired Oriental entity by the French, that is from the perspective of the early-twentieth-century French Orientalist decadent novel (*La Jongleuse,* 1900), and I illustrate how desire for things Egyptian was integral to French subjectivity, not a seductive strategy that masked the unequal relation of power the French had with the Egyptian as Shaden Tageldin emphasized in *Disarming Words* (2011[12]). Egypt played an important role in nineteenth-century French Orientalism and French economies of desire, occupying a symbolic place in French romance and a referential metaphor evocative of pleasure. I illustrate how Egypt's transcendental referentiality served French modern identity and participated in capitalism and its attendant class culture. In Chapter Three, "Aesthetic Ideology in the Discourses of al-Muwaylihi, Sanu', and Kamil: Modern National Identity or European-Class Kinship?" I further destabilize Tageldine's idea that the French used Arabic speech as a strategic tool of linguistic seduction in Egypt by showing that, in fact, it was Egypt who used French as a practice of taste and a strategy for winning French allies in later decades. The Francophone Egyptian intellectual proved successful in seducing France as the case of Mustapha Kamil (1874-1908) and Ya'qub Sannu' (1839-1912) showed by drawing from French Orientalist rhetorical modes. Their mastery of the French language and culture equipped them with

[12] Tageldin 2011, 66-107.

the communicative protocols and the class etiquette to win France's support against colonial Britain. French taste and Orientalism were successfully used by Egypt's subject in Franco-Egyptian intercontinental communication and diplomacy, for taste remained pervasive in stimulating French desire, but it followed differential civilizational logics and could not disentangle from colonial politics albeit Kamil and Sannu' had no difficulty in proving bourgeois authenticity. However, as national subjects motivated by self-determination, Kamil, Sannu', and others resisted European simulation and often produced discourses that affirmed their place in history as sovereign, civilized subjects through the terms of European taste and modernity.

Taste in Egypt was related to the discourse on women and the family, and in fact, it was aligned with state social programs that reflected Egypt's elite and middle-classes' modern conception of the family and the individual. It also chimed in with dominant ideas about evolutionary biology, eugenics, and the moral discourse that sprang from them.[13] In this context, the nuclear family, motherhood, education, monogamous romance, and attachment to Muslim, native identity were adapted to modernity's evolutionary discourse through taste. Royal women, in particular, were exhibited in photographs as illustrations of Egypt's new conception of ideal femininity and motherhood. Their photographic publications were also partly in response to the early fixation of Western colonial powers on the outward appearance of the Muslim female who was, like its Western counterpart, an emblem of national culture and of modernity. Egyptian polygamy, veiling, and gender separation undermined Egypt's claims to independence from colonial Britain, especially

[13] El Shakry 2007, 176.

that British colonial discourse had ethnographically focused on native-gender culture as a sign of civilizational Otherness.[14]

Chapter Four, "The Women of Egypt's Royal House in the Illustrated Press, 1920s-1940s: Aristocratic Taste, Family, and Modern Subjectivity," examines the 1920s-1940s-photographs of women who dominated Egypt's illustrated press, analyzing the socio-political contexts that supported these images, as national discourses consistently articulated new social formulas for modern Egyptian identity. The female relatives of King Faruk Fuad, in particular, dominated photographic publications that promoted women's central role in the nuclear family, monogamous marriage, and feminine domesticity. I highlight the hegemonic role of this visual representation, which was anything but democratic or democratizing, for though its moral discourse seemed inclusive and accessible to a wider literate readership, the photographic coverage centered on domestic and social practices that were exclusive to the elite urban minority, treating female royals like celebrities who paraded glamorous fashions in family portraits alongside tempting commodities. In magazine photographs, the women and girls of the royal family occupied social and family situations that fit the very social and political roles prescribed by the nation-state, combining the visual appeal of their appearance with the aesthetic recipe of national citizenship.

These carefully-orchestrated portraits of royal women were aesthetically-interpellating readers to appreciate the modern social values promoted in the articles.

[14] See Renata Pepicelli 2017.

The stories were organized according to class-bounded concepts and values where taste was considered as a natural yardstick for collectively assessing and judging national behavior. The white racial identity and class conditions of Egypt's Westernized Turco-Circassian monarchy went beyond its physical manifestation and infiltrated the discourse of the articles. A self-Other Orientalizing rhetoric was deployed to set Egypt's royals apart from the rest of contemporary "Oriental" societies, adopting the very politics of Otherness used by Western colonialists. King Faruk's mother and sisters were presented as possessing a modern disposition, *savoir-faire,* and moral exemplarity within the private realm of the family. The editors of the Francophone magazines capitalized on the king's mother, wife, and sisters' ability to pass as European by visually embodying *bon gout* and perfecting the French language while in Europe.

In these articles, Francophone missionary-school education for females was synonymous with elite lineage, refined sensibility and moral discipline, inserting royal stories with appealing moral outcomes symbolic of the collective values of the nation-state. Commodity consumption, the domicile as a gendered space, and the suitability of French as a language of national taste were being normalized. The French magazine, *Images*[15]

[15] *Images* was a weekly Francophone periodical that was in circulation between 1929-1969 in Cairo, Egypt. It was part of *Dar al-Hilal* periodicals, which was run by Emile and Shukri Zaydan, the sons of the famous Syro-Lebanese writer and journalist, Jurji Zaydan. *Images* was, in fact, the first French-language periodical in Egypt to use images albeit there were other successful Francophone journals that weren't photographic, such as *L'Egypte Nouvelle*, *L'Egyptienne* and *La Semaine Egyptienne*. In parallel with *Images*, the Zaydan brothers also published *Al-Musawwar* (the Illustrated) and *Al-Dunya al-Musawwara* (the World in Images), two Arabic-language periodicals published in Arabic. For forty years, *Images* was covering political and social events, scientific advancements and literary and cultural progress, using both texts and images, mostly photographs, but also graphs, maps, drawings, and caricatures. The editors of the magazine made it explicit in their first issue that their decision to include pictures was determined by changes in society, with the tempo of life speeding up, thereby causing readers to spend less time reading (no 1, August 1929). Images was launched during a time when periodicals started using images in their publications in the 1920s in France, and which saw the birth of *Vu,* founded by Lucien Vogel in 1928, and which must have served as

(1929-1969), and its Arabic sister, *al-Musawwar* (the illustrated) proved socially and politically hegemonic, appropriating the aristocratic taste of royals and aristocrats, and incorporating it into a middle-class-reform-rhetoric inclusive of all Egyptians. *Images* and al-*Musawwar* consistently ran articles that conflated royal elite class practices with a new gendered national morality, which valorized the domicile as a new body-politic[16] governed by feminine taste. *Images* often presented the Queen Mother, Nazli Sabri and her four daughters' personal lives and activities as modular social practices for the cosmopolitan urban elite of Egypt, taking care to present their values and beliefs as common to ordinary Egyptians. The visual and class appeal of the photographs dominated the magazine's discourse, linking the lives of their subjects to the state and its attendant aesthetic, social, and subjective forms. The taste of Egypt's elites was visually-projected, increasingly-gendered, and defined around education, romance, marriage, motherhood, and children's education. I noted that Egyptian national culture was going through a process of feminine embourgeoisement as aristocratic feminine taste was being moralized and tailored to middle-class Egyptians.

Egypt's royals were setting aesthetic standards for new national culture that was increasingly-gendered and governed by taste with identities that were conceptualized around family, feminine interiority, and a Victorian-inspired cult of domesticity organized according to separate private and public spheres.[17] National culture was being feminized

a model for *Images*. The page layout, the structure, the photographic style as well as the imprinting techniques employed, such as the rotogravure, a new innovation printing in large quantities and formats, allowing editors more freedom in their montage, and accurately reproducing photographic color tone.

[16] Pollard 2000.

[17] Ibid.

in the illustrated press as taste infiltrated its gender discourse, expressing bourgeois feminine identity as a relationship between commodities, women, the family, and state-institutions.[18] Family and romance figured as principal themes in the royal stories told by the photographic press while a new national moralism that tied women's taste, in particular, to moral aptitude was being promoted. Philanthropy, commodity consumption, European manners and decorum, French elocution and diction, were now articulated around modern, collective socio-political issues, such as feminine virtue, monogamy, motherhood, domesticity, and children's education, thereby becoming essential national identity markers for middle-class Egyptians.

Egypt's photographic magazines were thematically and structurally-fashioned after French women's periodicals, like *Femina* (1901-1954) and *La Vie Heureuse* (1902-1917) in that they were promoting women's etiquette, feminine domesticity, marriage, and the nuclear family, and in fact, Francophone Egyptian magazines, like *L'Egyptienne*[19] (1925), *L'Egypte Nouvelle*, *La Semaine Egyptienne* were written in French and addressed to an elite French-speaking readership of women in Egypt and focused on gender issues, like domesticity and motherhood. Postcolonial Egyptian bourgeois subjectivity and its respective class practices were dependent on the aesthetic apprehension of European modernity by its early modern intellectual and elite classes.[20] The literature at hand shows

[18] Morrison 2016.

[19] *L'Egyptienne* (1925) was a feminist journal founded by Huda Sha'rawi (1879-1947), an upper-class woman and leader of a feminist movement who left memoirs of her early life and regularly wrote in the journal on Egyptian women's issues.

[20] Bourdieu 1979.

how sensual appeal, by governing the different fields of subjectivity, including morality and politics, became the medium by which a new bourgeois consciousness was formed and sustained in Egypt. It is important to note that French bourgeois class distinction, modern urban living, and the nineteenth-century colonialist developmentalist logics were interconnected, mutually-scaffolding practices, which made the passage of these logics into the Egyptian scene not only incidental, but as seen in al-Tahtawi's consistent fusion of aesthetics with politics, inevitable.

The discourse of Egypt's illustrated press of later decades operated within this same Self-Other dynamic that structured previous French-Egyptian and British-Egyptian relationships. The national photographic press referenced Orientalist notions preconceived by Europe about "Oriental character," yet recycled the same desire politics that organized French practices of taste. Egypt's illustrated press's coverage of Egypt's monarchy, in its focus on King Faruk Fuad's family's aristocratic practices countered the colonial civility onslaught of the British on Egypt. In this context, French class culture was wielded by Egyptians like a weapon with the outer forms of distinction fusing with the national discourse of the press. The female relatives of King Faruk Fuad dominated photographic publications that promoted women's central role in the nuclear family, monogamous marriage, and feminine domesticity, and these women's aristocratic lifestyles were explicitly tied to the modern collective values of the nation-state.

CHAPTER I

Al-Tahtawi Between Taste and the Eurocentric Epistemes of Bourgeois Subjectivity

In *Takhlis al-Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz* (the extraction of gold in the abridgement of Paris) (1826-1831), Al-Tahtawi documents French life by aesthetically engaging with the visual structures of French urbanity and with the various performative fields of bourgeois subjectivity. His sensuous engagement with form frames and informs the politics of cultural exchange in his *Rihla*[21] and points to the primacy of embodied subjectivity[22] and sensibility in the imam's transmission and translation of French modernity despite the seeming dominance of the pedagogical and rational in his account.[23] Even when al-Tahtawi rationally examines and critiques European concepts and social values, he submits to judgments of an aesthetic nature, that is his embodied existence within the appealing visual spaces of modernity. His views are situated and shaped by his sentient experience of French

[21] Ibn Battutah's *Rihla* (Travelogue), *Tuḥfat an-Nuẓẓār fī Gharāʾib al-Amṣār wa ʿAjāʾib al-Asfār* (1354) (A Masterpiece to Those Who Contemplate the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling), a fourteenth-century travel account, which was the first of its kind to document a Muslim man's travels into foreign lands. Shams al-Dīn ʾAbū ʿAbd al-Lāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Lāh l-Lawātī Ṭanǧī ibn Baṭūṭah (1304-1369), at the suggestion of the Marinid ruler of Morocco, Abu Inan Faris, dictated an account in Arabic of his journeys to Ibn Juzayy, a scholar whom he had previously met in Granada. The account is the only source for Ibn Battuta's adventures to the East.

[22] On the concept of embodied subjectivity, see Merleau-Ponty, 1962.

[23] Euben 2006, 41.

modernity and its social and urban institutions. This ultimately privileges the European subjectivity that inhabits modernity's spaces, middle-class-oriented logics, and Eurocentric colonial thought patterns and epistemologies that continue to operate in *Takhlis* through taste.

From the moment the imam arrives in Europe, and privileging the visual, his reports on European culture emanate from his fascination with aesthetic form. He marvels at the elegance of infrastructures and societal norms, devoting attention to table manners, habits of dress, and public social protocols. He finds Parisian buildings and boulevards imposing and nice to view while he commands the material, refined style, and glossy appearance of Parisian theaters, dance halls, house interiors, and furnishings. French women are, in his view, "paragons of beauty," "amiable company," and tactful in their social deportment though unchaste in comparision to Muslim women (wa nisaa'u al-Faransawiya baari'ate al-jamal wa al-latafa husaan al-musayara wa al-mulatafa yatabarrajna da'iman bi al-zina wa yakhtalitna ma'a al-rijjal fi al-muntazahate[24]). They are endowed with physical attractiveness, have a sense of style in fashion and dance, an inquisitive mind, and move about freely and independently; He notes the seasonal nature of French fashions commenting on their transient character and their embodiment of the French love for change and worldliness.[25] Al-Tahtawi expresses these views while emphasizing the

[24] See Tahtawi's *Takhlis al-ibriz fi talkhis bariz,* 97.

[25] Though al-Tahtawi preceded Baudelaire by decades, his observations on the transience and forever changing nature of fashion bears the mark of modernity and registers a strong engagement with the cosmopolitan scene.

environment of literacy, liberty, and intellectual curiosity that helped all these aspects of French culture flourish.

Clearly seduced by these forms, al-Tahtawi appears to justify the secular, consumerist, and individualist principles they represent even as they come in conflict with the values of his native Islam. French taste continually frames the liberal gender and civic ideals and laws he lauds, illustrating how the imam's sentient engagement with forms placates an otherwise unwavering attachment to *Shari'aa* laws. I noted on many occasions al-Tahtawi's remolding of European modern civic ideals into self-evident, logical, universalist principles essentially aligned with Islam as he apprehends the orderly appeal of the spaces and practices that embody those principles. Equally important in al-Tahtawi's apparent enthrallment with French urban forms is his socio-cultural implication in modernity's experience---an experience of collective consciousness that will prove bourgeois in its ideals and its aesthetic leanings**.** Conceiving of al-Tahtawi as a participant in this consciousness requires thinking of modernity as an aesthetico-political phenomenon that invents a particular urban bourgeois identity receptive to a constant influx of cosmopolitan visual and sensual stimuli as it self-consciously practices its liberal individuality. Hahn persuasively argues that modernity reinvented the bourgeois Parisian as an "aesthetic consuming artist and citizen" via a network of relations binding urban landscapes, consumption, the press, and individuality, encouraging the bourgeois individual to perceive oneself as living life democratically and artistically as a free, self-performing, consuming individual. Hahn's perspective is important because she sees the modern experience as one that integrates the urban sense of modernity with its democratic

principle, the aesthetic, and a particular middle-class imaginary formed out of a subjective positionality inseparable from images and from self-performativity[26]. Al-Tahtawi's five-year French sojourn took place precisely during this historic juncture, and in regards to Parisian cosmopolitan life, his opinions and values appear to be inspired by the urban spectacle of imposing civic structures, appealing urban spaces of leisure, and the identity-self-fashioning French, always framing his observations of the latter within the secular values of civic life, himself integrating the aesthetic with the modern.

Scholars focused on *Takhlis*'s provision and initiation of a translational practice fundamental to the nineteenth-century discursive and epistemological transformation of the Arabic language. I add that by virtue of being a travelogue, an account of cultural discovery, *Takhlis* is essentially translational, for it rationalizes and converts French practices into Arabic. But as it depicts and translates Europe, it reflects a wondrous attachment to the elegant spaces, objects, and identities of European modernity and a subjective Euro-Muslim hybridity governed by pleasure. While *Takhlis* was partly written as a modernity manual for Egyptians, the desire to vicariously implicate readers in al-Tahtawi's experiences of pleasure and to involve them diegetically in aesthetic situations seems to direct many sections in the book and suggest that this truly fuels the imam's attempt at making French culture appreciated and intelligible to Muslims. The colonial framework within which *Takhlis* belongs facilitates al-Tahtawi's aesthetic engagement with the bourgeois spaces, institutions, and objects of modernity--a mode of engagement

[26] While Hahn does not use the terms "subjective positionality," her emphasis on the individual's exposure to urban modernity's phenomena and the subjectivity that emanates out of that particular interactivity points to her concurrence with me, hence my coining of the phrase. For more on this idea, see Hahn 2009.

which conveys a middle-class-oriented discourse that will disseminate European class and cultural hegemony among literate Egyptians as it gets incorporated into the Egyptian State-reform project in later decades.[27]

Takhlis as a Modernity Manual/Travelogue and the Educational Mission

Takhlis reflects al-Tahtawi's intellectual interaction with the French during his five-year sojourn in Paris (1826-1831) at the behest of Mehmet Ali, Egypt's modernizing governor general or khedive (1805-1867). He was sent with an educational mission of forty-four students in his capacity as imam in order to provide religious and moral guidance to the rest of the pupils on the mission. He, however, showed great interest in learning French and implored the mission's authorities to grant him permission to study it. In France, al-Tahtawi was advised by Silverstre de Sacy (1758-1838) and Edme-Francois Jomard (1777-1862), editor of *Description de l'Egypte* (1810-1828) and the mission's supervisor with whom he partakes in important intellectual discussions, along with scholars like Armand-Pierre Caussain de Perceval (1759-1835) and Joseph Rinaud (1795-1867).[28] This proved to be a productive endeavor for al-Tahtawi, and during his stay in Paris, he studied French literature, language, and politics and engaged in translating key French oeuvres that reflected European Enlightenment thought. This included essays by

[27] To learn more about the idea of hegemony, see Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1971.
[28] On the making of the École Égyptienne, see Louca 1970, 33–54. Jomard's plan for the school was given to to Mehmet Ali and reproduced in Louca, 254.

Montesquieu (1689-1755), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and Georges Depping (1748-1853).[29]

Al-Tahtawi translated notions as "democracy" (shura) and "Enlightenment" (tanwir) into Arabic, and he wrote influential social and political books after his return to Egypt. Key in al-Tahtawi's experience in France is witnessing the 1830 political events, which prompted his translation of the new French constitution and his engagement with the nature and origin of French laws (being political and secular vs divine). Al-Tahtawi's later contributions to Egyptian modern reform included pedagogy books as well, reflecting his social and political ideals in books, like *Manahij al-Adab al-Misriya fi Mabahij al-Adab al-'Asriya* (The paths of Egyptian hearts in the joys of contemporary letters) (1869) and *Kitab al-Murshid al-Amin li-l-Banat wa-l-Banin* (Honest guide on the education of boys and girls) (1872).[30]

Located within Egypt's modernizing reform vision, *Takhlis* is at the heart of political, linguistic, and subjective transformations; so it requires a close analysis of al-Tahtawi's engagement with the spaces, structures, and identities of modernity in relation to Arab subjectivity. I read al-Tahtawi's early sensual engagement with the European metropolitan scene as a manifestation of a subjective transformation articulated through a new aesthetic perspective dominated by taste.[31] Al-Tahtawi's exposure to European

[29] See Bayomi 1995; Orany 1983, 169-90.

[30] See Hourani 1983.

[31] What Tahtawi seems to have internalized during his five-year sojourn in France is a phenomenon was novel in Paris at that time: Paris as the stage of modern civic life and of consumption with the two being in a mutually-constitutive relationship that ultimately feeds a liberal civic bourgeois identity invested in a culture of distinction. According to Hahn, "consumption was associated with a complex and contradictory

modernity and its epistemes is a product of colonial domination, but the process of embracing those epistemes is sustained by the imam's autonomous sentient attachment to French appealing forms, which, as I argue/contend, came to replace an Arabic aesthetic of subjecthood rooted primarily in language. This insidious ideological operation proves to be an indispensable tool of postcolonial influence given al-Tahtawi's pride in his Muslim past and his multiple moments of resistance to the secularism of French culture. It follows that "ruling and informing the senses from within while allowing them to thrive in all of their relative autonomy" becomes an ideal socio-cultural and colonial hegemonic strategy discursively reflected in *Takhlis's* many situational aesthetic renditions[32]. And indeed, the imam's knowledge of Enlightenment thought coupled with a keen poetic sensibility, a Muslim drive for knowledge[33], and a will for native reform inspired by a grandiose Muslim

set of values and impulses, and it influenced the formation of a range of identities for consumers." In this process, the consumer's agency became important, as well as the disciplinary and conformist aspects of consumer culture, which interacted with politics. After the July Monarchy, consumerism and life in the metropole were the hub of Individual fantasies, which were marked by cultural characters through advertisement. Bourgois individual fantasies were shaped through frameworks such as class, gender, and race, and hence were implicated in performative acts of identity that bind aesthetic sensibility to class etiquette; See Hahn 2009.

[32] See Eagleton 1990, 17.

[33] In *Takhlis*, Tahtawi argues that travel for instruction in modern science is a matter of following the truth where it resides, seeking for Muslims the progress and prosperity they once had and again deserve, 4. For the specific association between travel and knowledge in the Qur'an, see *Al-Qur'an*, trans. Ahmed Ali 1984, verses 3:137; 6:11; 12:109; 16:36; 29:20;30:9. The hadith literature, the reports of the words and deeds of the Prophet reaffirms this Qur'anic concept. Al-Suyuti (d. 1505) tells of a story where Muhammad exhorted the Muslim believers to seek knowledge as far as China. Several other *ahadith* (plural of hadith) relate travel to God's reward of which three are told by al-Tirmidhi (d. 892), one where the Prophet characterized the search for knowledge as expiation for past deeds. *See al-Jami" al-Sahih*, 1965, 138.

past[34]predispose him to privilege a new modern identity that aesthetically reaffirms the imam's reformist vision.

Al-Tahtawi's Subjectivity: When the Cartesian Model of Identity Meets Aesthetic Sensibility

Scholars argue that the nineteenth-century Eurocentric epistemologies and logics in al-Tahtawi's discourse reflect a shift in the Arab scholar subjectivity, but they fail to link those epistemologies and their attendant subjectivity to the particular shape and format of the institutions and practices that deliver and sustain them. These logics are also linked to the bourgeois urban ethos that continuously affirms itself through modernity's orderly institutions, spaces, and middle-class aesthetic practices.[35] Alexis Wick argues that the Eurocentric cultural practices and concepts *Takhlis* contains reside in the new epistemic order of knowledge[36] that al-Tahtawi internalized in the 1820s while engaging with Depping, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and others.[37] Wick bases his contention on Foucault's notion that, in the nineteenth century, history became an organizing principle of knowledge production, which orders language into "a collection of internally coherent organisms and

[34] Later reformers such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1897) and Muhammad "Abduh (1905) defined science and modernity as universal rather than Western. Al-Tahtawi was first to articulate the idea that European scientific advances were a "modern extension of Islam's lost heritage" extricated from religious knowledge; Livingston 1996, 544–45.

[35] See Sheehi 2004, 28. He argues that the Arab scholar internalizes the Cartesian model of subjectivity contingent on a thinking self-examination, which was taken further with the *nahda* intellelctual (al-Tahtawi, for example) as "the Arab subject becomes Other to his own sense of Self," that the rational episteme becomes an ideal tool for scientific inquiry.

[36] For more information on this point, see Foucault, *The order of things*, 2002 [1966], 237.

[37] See Wick 2014, 405–417.

a trajectory traceable by a simple mechanism of cause and effect."[38] Wick argues that al-Tahtawi internalized this epistemic phenomenon, which affected his ethnographic logics and taxonomies. Drawing from Timothy Mitchell's argument in *Modernizing Egypt*, he emphasizes al-Tahtawi's centrality in relation to the project of producing knowledge as a modernity-grounding metaphysics that is "fundamentally anthropocentric," with Man becoming subject, and the world being an object of apprehension. I find the latter contention fundamental to al-Tahtawi's visually-oriented mode of telling French life as he is situated within the sentient ambience of the French metropole and its endemic bourgeois practices. The latter provoke, not only the articulation of Cartesian subjecthood in relation to the Enlightenment-based social and intellectual environment as his travelogue narration shows, but sensuously involve al-Tahtawi's consciousness in an aesthetically-constituted modern identity that examines itself through adherence to form. The highly-ordered structures and socially-performative acts of modernity prompt his historicist dive into Europe-Islam relations and inspire self-observations and comparisons that combine a Cartesian self-awareness with a modern epistemic organization of knowledge that sees itself reflected in a civilizational timeline graph while simultaneously and aesthetically-affirming itself through its interpretative/aesthetic gaze. It is urgent to recall that, in the case of al-Tahtawi, this rational Cartesian subjective positionality is double, for it emanates from a Paris-embodied subjectivity and an Arab/Muslim identity, involving him in Hegelian universalist ethnographic comparatives organized according to linear history in

[38] Ibid., 408.

relation to Muslim/Arab history. More importantly for my contention, Wick invokes Timothy Mitchell's ingenious Heideggerian contribution that the Cartesian rationality/subjectivity model of modernity is contingent on Man observing the world as picture, which he takes upon himself to represent with a claim to certainty. I add that al-Tahtawi's observed world picture differs from the Heideggarian image in that it is inclusive of a self-reflective mirror image, closely similar to Diego Velasquez's mimetic conception of himself in his painting, *Las Meninas* (1656), allowing a subject viewer's position of a world picture that also reflects the self in a central position. I recall that Muslim travel literature facilitates this bourgeois subject formation, with *rihla's raison d'etre* (reason for being) and ontological genesis lying in acquiring world knowledge for the purpose of self-examination, already embedding a self-reflective/reflexive mirror-like dynamic in its purpose and undertaking, but in Islam and prior to exposure to modernity, self-examination had remained an abstract phenomenon carried out via poetics.[39] European modernity shifted the reflective dynamic of cultural identity in *rihla,* as we see with al-Tahtawi, into the visual/pictorial, the latter supplying both ethnographic cultural material and aesthetic framework of articulating the France-Egypt civilizational and identity comparative.[40] I also

[39] Abu-Lughod gives us a historic survey of pre-nineteenth-century Arab travelers to Europe, stating that they were scarce. These travelers included Fakhr al-Din and Emir of Mount Lebanon who traveled to Tuscany. Other Arab travels to Europe were for the purpose of studying theology in Italy and did not result in the writing of modern *rihla* narratives. Mehmet Ali's modernizing mission propelled a modern interest in writing about Europe with his first educational missions to France (1826-1831), starting precisely with al-Tahtawi's mission; Abu-Lughod 1963; El-Ariss 2013, 25. El-Ariss argues that Takhlis should be examined as a modern *rihla* text alongside works like Histoire de l'expedition des Francais en Egypte (1839) by Niqula Ibn Yusuf al-Turk (1763-1828) and Muhammad al-Saffar's *rihlat al-Saffar Ila Faransa (1845-1846).*

[40] There were a few Arab travelers to Paris who followed in Tahtawi's footsteps and wrote narratives about Parisian modernity towards the end of the nineteenth century, mostly about the World Exhibit. They are

insist on conceiving of the mirror dynamic in identity apprehension and affirmation as a middle-class oriented act rooted in the European elite tradition of portraiture, a practice not only absent in Muslim societies, but forbidden by Islam. The self-observing gaze is part and parcel of modernity's bourgeois practice of self-fashioning, which cannot, in turn, be divorced from city-based consumerist practices and their related performative acts[41]. Mitchell ties the nineteenth-century Eurocentric epistemic formation to the disciplinarian hegemonic institutions of the modern territorial state, adding that they are coextensive with the spreading consumerist capitalist relations of production, but he does not implicate the aesthetic manifestations or affects of the aforementioned institutions and epistemologies and their role in affirming the middle-class consumerist practices that sustain and reflects bourgeois subjectivity. In his focus on the Cartesian subjectivity model of identity, the image as a dominant form of reality representation, the centrality of the viewing, reality-representative subject, he almost provides a theory of postcolonial Arab subjectivity formed out of engagement with the visually-apprehended aesthetic forms of urban modernity as they represent a particular self and world vision inseparable from the Eurocentric logics of consumerism and colonialism. Mitchell's alignment of the

governed by a similar engagement in aesthetic spaces. See Fikri 1892; See also Ibn Ni'mat Allah Khallat 1889. Also marked with a similar concern with urbanity and aesthetic structures is Zaki Ahmad in his travelogue *Al-Safar il al-mu'tamar was hiya al-rasa'il allati katabha ala Urubba* (an account of a journey to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892; See also Ahmad's *Al Dunya fi Baris*, 1900.

[41] See Benjamin 1969, 669. Benjamin explains the socially-dominant character of the commodity as one that is fetishized, that is society adopts itself a fetish character as it comes to understand itself through the commodities it produces, concept which he likened to Wiesungrund's "phantasmagoria." "The property appertaining to the commodity as its fetish character attaches as well to the commodity-producing society-not as it is in itself, to be sure, but more as it represents itself and thinks to understand itself whenever it abstracts from the fact that it produces precisely commodities. The image that it produces of itself in this way, and that it customarily labels as its culture, corresponds to the concept of phantasmagoria."

Cartesian[42] subjectivity/heideggerian[43] model with hegemonic capitalist institutions inadvertently implicates modernity's bourgeois class acts and their respective aesthetic practices and manifestations in the continuum of colonialist relations.

As I will further illustrate in this chapter, Al-Tahtawi's aesthetic mode of telling France suggests that he predominantly engaged with French culture in its modern cityscapes, institutions, and performative social acts, and it is clear that these socio-cultural spaces, in their attention to formal appeal and in their reinforcement of the secular Eurocentric values and perspectives that presented Europe as technically superior, fascinate al-Tahatawi and resuscitate a feeling of lack as he attempts to affirm his subject positionality via his representation of France in *Takhlis*. His representation is riddled with an anxiety that cuts across his native cultural identity, which remains juxtaposed and comparatively assessed with French modern bourgeois identity through the appeal of form as it prompts him into mirror-like self-examinations. The lack he feels is thereof reminiscent of colonialist and class relations and tends to inhabit the same modular forms and domains that highlight the France-Egypt civilizational gap and provoke anxious self-observations[44]. The imam positions Islam within the evolutionary civilizational timeline as

---

[42]See *Descartes, Philosophical Writings*, 1970 [1637], 15-16.

[43] See Martin Heidegger, "The age of the world picture" in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, 1977 [1938], 115-54.

[44] See Daniel Newman 2004, 179. Al-Tahtawi declares in *Takhlis* that "Paris is one of the intellectual capitals of the entire world, and a center for foreign sciences--the 'Athens' of the French." The Athens's comparison is a metaphor which borrows an Eurocentric thinking framework that deliberately traces Western European history to a Hellenic past (a historic fallacy) as indicated by Samir Amin in his book *Eurocentrism;* See Amin 2009.

an important link in Europe's route to progress, but as he undertakes this, he inevitably betrays a feeling of deficiency that emerges to the surface when issues of French taste are raised and when formalistic comparisons with his native Egypt are made, taste being the field where assessments of civility and intellect take place.

Al-Tahtawi's constant deployment of aesthetic judgment in his reports on French cultural and social institutions suggests that his contribution to the Egyptian reform project was initiated by his French sentient experience, his sojourn being a period of gradual bourgeois subject formation informed by colonialist instruction and pedagogy. His aesthetic judgments throughout the book suggests that the same mechanisms that operate in class distinction are at work in the *rihla* European experience; for al-Tahtawi faces Otherness mostly within the highly-structured institutions of power and learning and the appealing forms that signify French civility within a political framework that is pedagogical and civilizational, a fact explicitly apparent in the poetics of negation that govern his ethnographic comparatives.

In later chapters, I will illustrate how the Egyptian model for reform of the subsequent decades, like its French counterpart, helps in shaping a collective bourgeois identity that fuses taste with politics, thereby sustaining a culture of class distinction, which informs various discourses (including "the Woman Question") of the modernizing Egyptian nation state. More importantly, these modernizing discourses recapitulate in various ways al-Tahtawi's early aesthetic reactions to European visual forms in *Takhlis* and highlight socially-engineered perspectives that relate to women's place in society, education, state-reform, and taste, and which simultaneously reproduce Eurocentric social

hierarchies and logics. This retrospectively illustrates how *Takhlis* was an early account of European class influence for Egyptians, for it reflects al-Tahtawi's growing participation in the nineteenth-century French bourgeois ethos through his affective reactions to the various modes and spaces of European modern bourgeois subjectivity.

Al-Tahtawi's travelogue is in many ways a living document of the imam's evolving consciousness of modernity and bourgeois culture, a process fraught with moral and political questions, comparisons, criticisms that often get resolved through language in favor of Europe when al-Tahatawi's aesthetic sensibilities are interpellated. In later chapters, we will see how similar aesthetic reactions and engagements invariably resuscitate moral and developmentalist questions in the Egypt of the following decades. This dynamic will be noted time and again in the reform discourses of the Egyptian literate classes of the 1830s-1940s period in ways that point to Egypts' difficult emancipation from Eurocentric colonialist logics.

My overall dissertation thesis is grounded in an understanding of postcolonial Egyptian bourgeois subjectivity and its respective class practices as dependent on the aesthetic apprehension of European modernity by its early modern intellectual and elite classes[45]. It shows in varying ways how sensual appeal, by governing the different fields of subjectivity, including morality and politics, becomes the medium by which a new bourgeois consciousness is formed in Egypt. I see French bourgeois class distinction, modern urban living, and the nineteenth-century colonialist developmentalist logics as interconnected, mutually-scaffolding practices, which makes the passage of these logics

[45] Bourdieu 1979.

into the Egyptian scene not only incidental, but as seen in al-Tahtawi's consistent fusion of aesthetics with politics, inevitable. In the context of al-Tahtawi's emotive reactions to Paris and other European metropoles, I will illustrate how al-Tahtawi's experience of modernity has bourgeois leanings[46], looking through his fascination with appealing forms, the ideological compromises he makes, and his development of a new subjectivity that appreciates the outward forms of civic culture and class distinction as it simultaneously lauds the rational secular, and humanist principles and values of modernity, and consequently seeks to convert them into Arabic.[47]

Desire and Arab Subjectivity between a Poetic Aesthetic and Pictorial/Ambient Aesthetic

Locating al-Tahtawi's gesture of translatability and cultural exchange in desire, and considering al-Tahtawi's text as an instance of nineteenth-century comparative practice, Shaden Tageldin sees the translational practices of *Takhlis* within the colonial psychodynamics of East-West cultural encounter and unequal exchange, arguing that al-Tahtawi's emphasis on French translatability and universality stems from his seduction to

[46] Hahn 2009; According to Hahn, the bourgois class entertained values, self-perceptions, and performative acts that were prospitious for conspicuous display, travel, literacy, and an understanding of the individual as belonging to the nuclear family.

[47] Russel 2004. When speaking about nineteenth-century modernity in the Egyptian context, It is important to cling to an understanding of modernity's consciousness as consistent with a new global financial system, developing cityscape in Cairo and Alexandria, and the construction of novel institutions (European schools, department stores, and theaters) where a budding bourgeois culture is taking hold, in addition to the proliferation of Enlightenment-inspired logics and epistemologies in the Egyptian press. The Egyptian literate elites and middle-class of this period though never experienced an industrial revolution and revolutionary republican breakthroughs in consciousness, were primarily affected by the symptoms and side-effects of the European changes, mainly the physically-appealing structures of its institutions and European middle-class culture: See also Baron 1994. According to Baron, this new Egyptian bourgeois culture was influenced by its French counterpart, hence it was socially-oriented, urbane, and performative. On the commercial and economic changes in Egypt in the 18 and 19 centuries; see Peter Gran 1979.

French culture via a prior gesture of French translation of French into Arabic.[48] She invokes Hasan al-'Attār's rhymed-prose narrative "*Maqāmat al-Faransīs*" (Maqāma of the French, 1799) as an exemplary literary piece produced out of this seduction dynamic. Al-A'ttar, who is "initially terrified of the French, becomes powerfully drawn to them when a French scholar addresses him in Arabic—specifically, with an extract from *al-Burda* (The Mantle), a thirteenth-century Egyptian panegyric to the Prophet Muhammad."[49] This intralingual seduction, Tageldin explains, constitutes a dynamic of conquest, tracing al-Tahtawi's French seduction to a belief in the "commensurability" of Arabic with French due to the French scholars' previous attempts at emulating Arabic. She is right in emphasizing the role of Arab desire and subjectivity in the politics of French domination, but she locates the seduction, not in the aesthetics of Arabic language that form the basis of Arab identity, and on which the French scholars crucially relied in effectively addressing the Arab subject, but in the gesture of translation and its attendant politics of equivalence.[50] I maintain that the French Orientalists' address to al-'Attar was effective because it adopted the dominant discourse of Arab/Muslim subjectivity and its aesthetic correlates, that the Arab sovereign self of which Tageldin speaks is one who exists and self-actualizes aesthetically through poetry, the latter being a rich field for the imaginary that substitutes for the world of images and formal institutions where the European subject articulated

[48] Tageldin 2011, 66-107.

[49] Newman 14.

[50] See Husayn 1948, 90. Taha Husayn (1889-1973) argues that Arab culture was based on the Qu'ran and related religious sciences.

himself/herself. The Arabic-speaking French scholars understood Arabic poetry to be more than a form of speech for pre-colonial/pre-modern Arabs, but an epistemology and a field of aesthetic sensibility and subjectivity all at once[51]. Tageldin, in emphasizing intralingual seduction as a channel of French colonial influence, almost articulated a colonial theory of culture that explains conquest via the aesthetics of Arab subjectivity, but failed to arrive at the essential component in the French address that made them irresistible to the Arab scholar[52]. She contends that the success of seducing more Egyptian Muslims into translating Frenchness stems from this easy identification with a European culture, which was first in translating itself into Arabic and Islam, but she fails to see that "identification," if we were to surmise that it was indeed a process of identification, happened via a presumed shared subjectivity that delights in poetry as a preferred mode of self-expression that contains the aesthetic and moral values of which al-Farabi had spoken. A content analysis of *al-Burda* in relation to Arabic subjectivity is not necessary at his point and falls outside the scope of this chapter, but the invocation of the poem serves to show the place of aesthetic sensibility and subjective engagement in the colonial seduction dynamic of which Tageldin speaks. My modification of Tageldin's argument works to establish

[51] Indeed, centuries before al-Tahtawi, Al-Farabi (872-950) had identified a number of aesthetic functions to Arabic poetry, and which operate like an etiquette manual, reinforcing refinement, imagination, sensibility, and reason all once, thereby combining the qualities that make up moral taste. In speaking of poetic speech, he says that "it affords pleasure and repose, and gladdens the ear, enriches the imagination and nourishes the emotional and contemplative faculties." It was the musical speech of poetry, according to Al-Farabi, that delivered and reinforced moral taste, thereby underscoring an Arabic poetic aesthetic as a basis for a refined subjectivity likely to be moved towards good moral action in society through sensibility.

[52] Tageldin specifically discusses the impact of converting Napoleon Bonaparte's Proclamation (1798), a French text into an Arabic with Quranic inferences and idiomatic expressions culturally-circumscribed by Islam and its principles, on a bemused Egyptian subject who highly values Arabic and the culture of Islam.

aesthetic judgment as a primary subjective field of colonial influence, not by undermining the power of the intralingual element in this seduction dynamic, but by establishing the affective arena of subjecthood and its attendant performativity as the locus of the colonial impact. Indeed, the incorporation of modernity's appealing spaces and practices in al-Tahtawi's apphrension of French subjectivity in *Takhlis* illustrates a process whereby a Muslim subjective poetic self-articulation of moral taste, inspired by religious belief (as the example of *al-Burda* illustrates), gradually gives way to a visually/sentiently-inspired conception of subjectivity located in the space of European modernity.

Al-Tahtawi's Politics of Taste: The European Urban Metropole, Class, and Ethnography

From the beginning of the book, al-Tahtawi's judges France superior to other places by articulating a civilizational rationale that identifies and emphasizes both French knowledge and refinement as key elements in this process, underscoring the importance of French arts, that is aesthetic sensibility, alongside the accumulation of scientific knowledge and bourgeois social performativity:

> It is known that the degree of civilization of a town or city is measured by the level of learning and its distance from a state of savagery and barbary (*al-khushuuna wa al-tawahhush*). The countries of Europe are endowed with all types of knowledge and refinement (*al-ma'arifi wa al-adaab*), which no one will deny, are conducive to sociability and embellish civilization. It has been established that the French nation distinguishes itself among European countries through its great attachment to the arts and sciences. It is truly the greatest nation in terms of its manners and cultures (*fa hiya a'thamu adaban wa 'umranan*).[53]

[53] Newman 2004, 213.

Al-Tahtawi's vision of *al-taqaddum* (progress) includes order, knowledge, beauty, and sociability deployed on a hierarchical ethnographic grid based on taxonomies. On al-Tahtawi's civilizational assessment scale, a country's high "level of learning" and "distance from a state of savagery and barbary," (*al-khushuna wa al-tawahhush*) are key markers in civilizational progress, for they combine "knowledge" and "refinement" (*al ma'arif wa al-a'adaab*) as fundamental ingredients, and which in turn, lead to "sociability" and "embellish civilization," bringing in a third element in this equation, social interactions. Sociability, which belongs in the realm of subjectivity, is not only a necessary element for being developed, but a high signifier for progress, first requiring *al ma'arif wa al-a'adaab* as essential elements. Sociability is also endowed with an aesthetic function by al-Tahtawi, being an adorner and an embellisher of civilization, which delights as it instructs, unconsciously reinforcing French social etiquette as a hegemonic pedagogical practice inseparable from the subjectivity of modernity and its aesthetic spaces.

Towards the end of the paragraph, al-Tahtawi judges the French as "truly the greatest nation in terms of its manners and cultures" (*fa hiya a'thamu adaban wa 'umranan*), using the term "'*umranan*[54]" to denote civilized culture which can also be rendered in Arabic as excellence and sophistication in city structures and organization.[55] Indeed, al-Tahtawi often inserts depictions of Parisian institutions and details about French construction and craftsmanship in sections devoted to the character of the French. This is an ethnographic gesture that illustrates that urban French life, in its combination of

[54] Ibn Khaldoun employs the Arabic term *umran* in his fourteenth-century magnum opus, *Moqaddima,* to mean civilized society, a term used in a similar context by his Arab contemporaries.

[55] Newman 2004, 213.

organized modern institutions of science and knowledge, its arts, and its unfolding social protocols and behaviors, embodies the true identity of *taqaddum* (progress) and *al-madaniya* (civility). Also, and in a logic aligned with the hierarchy of class and colonialist relations, the very terms "*al-Kushuna*" (savagery), and "*al-tawahhush*" (barbary) carry within themselves a class-oriented logic which roots civilization in sensual and visual appeal on the one hand, and conveys a poetic of negation that indirectly suggests the existence of these civilizational deficiencies elsewhere in the civilizational grid in an implied Other who is unmodern, unrefined, and uncivil.[56] While postcolonial theory draws attention to the class-oriented politics of Otherness that govern colonial relations and pedagogical practices[57], al-Tahtawi's class-impacted and modernity-enchanted discourse universalizes a Euro bourgeois class identity model in France that fuses class with race.

While eager to learn from the French and cognizant of their contemporary political and civilizational power, Al-Tahtawhi faced many ideological challenges, which led him to enact many discursive maneuvers in his civilizational, cultural, and ideological comparisons. And, in fact, scholars who examined *Takhlis* recognize the text's provision of a theoretical comparative framework for analyzing Muslim Arab and secular French cultures, paying attention to al-Tahtawi's translational strategies and Muslim historicism mostly to avoid political problems[58]. His rendition of European modern terminologies and

---

[56] Again, the notion of the existence of people with varying degrees of civility (hadara) was commonplace in Arabic history or philosophy of history with Ibn Khaldoun's *Moqaddima* being a pioneering text in this regard (mainly his theory of climes).

[57] See Viswanathan 1984.

[58] See Sheehi 2004.

concepts into Arabic and his negotiations of French philosophical concepts and practices were understood in the context of reconciling opposed European and Muslim ideologies that could potentially jeopardize his political position of emissiary of Egypt's Khedive, Mehmet Ali, should he veer off from the tenets of Islam.

Myriam Salama-Carr considers al-Tahtawi as a conceptual mediator who negotiates conflicting ideologies in a politically-fraught situation requiring careful linguistic rendition, justification, and discussion in an era where science and secularism were on the rise. She reads his translation of terms like "freedom" (hurriya) and "citizen" (muwatin) as sites of negotiation that allow al-Tahtawhi to express his opinion while shunning censorship and reprimand[59] . His mediation strategy consists in often identifying similarities between Egypt and France and between European and Muslim cultures for the purpose of familiarizing the foreign. She rightly contends that his work "does not convey a sense of rupture between the Islamic tradition and European culture, but...needs to be read in the context of the Reformist movement to which he belongs and the relationship that the movement was striving to establish between Islam and Modernity[60]"". Mohammed Sawaie likewise notes al-Tahtawi's translation techniques in converting such terms as "theater" (tiyatru), "opera" (ubira), and "spectacle" (sbaktakil), arguing that he arabicizes Latin terminology sometimes to cover for a lack of an Arabic equivalent, and that his effort is inspired by the translational programs of the Abbasid era in Muslim history, making him

[59] Myriam Salama-Carr 2007, 213-27, 217.

[60] Ibid.

generate neologisms as a continuum of an old Muslim tradition[61]. Tarek El-Ariss also considers language's role in al-Tahtawi's self-perceptions and cultural negotiations while in France, but he focuses instead on his sudden shifting of literary modes and inclusion of several classical-Arabic genres in his *Rihla.* He attributes this literary aesthetic gesture to the disruptive psychic effect of European urban modernity. Seeing al-Tahtawi's first encounter with his multiplied reflection in the mirrors of a cafe in Marseille as an instance of disorientation, he argues that the imam remedies the self-disruption occasioned by the mirrors through his linguistic incorporation of classical Arabic elements in rendering that experience. Here the insertion of Arabic poetry, satire, and allegory becomes a mechanism for restoring a sense of unity to his Arab/Muslim identity and a political strategy to ward off the wrath of Muslim authorities in Egypt.

El Ariss's contribution is important because he recognizes the general climate of modernity in the imam's lived experience, however, he moves al-Tahtawi's linguistic strategies away from the ambit of cultural and linguistic exchange, and situates his Arabic citations in a gesture of resistance to Western modernity. Reading al-Tahtawi's misrecognition of his mirror reflection in the Marseille Cafe as an instance of identity fragmentation, he sees Arabic rhetoric as a linguistic move that restores the unity of al-Tahtawi's Muslim identity, which suffered fragmentation by the visual onslaught of French urbanity. While El-Ariss does well in heeding al-Tahtawi's embodied presence in the space of the cafe, I take issue with his reading because it ignores the general wonder with which

[61] Mohammed Sawaie 2000, 395-410.

al-Tahtawi receives the cafe as a result of his embodied subjectivity. Anxious to theorize al-Tahtawi's experience away from cultural exchange, he forgets that French modern culture is the source of al-Tahtawi's embodied fantasy, the reason behind his mirror-image misrecognition, and the instigator of his cultural transmission. In a gesture that recognizes French modernity's effect on al-Tahtawi's body and subjectivity, Anouar Louca sees the mirror scene as a Lacanian "mirror stage" event, considering al-Tahtawi's sudden realization of his imago as a discovery of a new hybrid identity, both Egyptian and French, one which combines imam and student. Louca reads the moment the imam becomes aware of his multiplied image in the Marseille Cafe as a moment of misrecognition that resides in the discrepancy between his Imago and his fantasized self as a whole integral to the process of identity formation[62]. Indeed, the imam's discovery is concomitant with the *Rihla* experience on the one hand and with his body's experience of modernity on the other[63]:

> When I entered this coffee house and sat down, it felt like being in a huge bazaar because of the huge numbers of the people there. When a group of people appeared both inside and outside, their faces appeared on all sides, in the mirrors and one could see the multiplicity of people walking around, sitting, and standing. One thus got the impression that this coffee house was a street, and I realized that it was an enclosed coffee house only because I saw our multiple images reflected in the mirrors. I became aware that all this was due to the peculiar effect of the glass. In our country, the mirror usually duplicates the image of one person.[64]

[62] See Anouar Louca 1997, 116.

[63] See El-Ariss 2013, 37. Tarek El-Ariss contests this reading on the basis that al-Tahtawi's misrecognition is only temporary as it gets remedied by the other counter-image of Arabic poetry found in the Egyptian mirror.

[64] Newman 2004, 153.

Al-Tahtawi does not necessarily experience identity fragmentation which, according to El-Ariss, he tries to resist by his poetic return to the Egyptian mirror. In my view, the imam's poetic allegories are not escapes to one's own identity in the face of disorienting modernity as El-Ariss sees them, but rather a referential strategy that helps intelligibility. The evocation of the Arabic mirror could be an urge towards a comparative practice of culture that seeks parallel mirrors in Arabic poetic citation, an attempt to bridge a perceived gap in the aesthetic imaginary between the French and the Egyptian. Al-Tahtawi is writing with a preconceived resistance on the part of the Arab Muslim readership who might perceive the mirrored cafes and the gender politics that play out within them (woman at the counter) as moral digressions and a gender practice that is far removed from the early nineteenth-century-gender environment of Egypt.

The paragraph also conveys the imam's gradual awareness of difference in the French cafe layout and arrangement through visual perception and the differential rationale that caused his initial confusion being no other than deliberate French ingenuity and design and the abundance of material, namely glass. Contrary to what El-Ariss argues, the bewilderment felt by the imam is conveyed as a positive byproduct of French progress, not as anxiety. If we were to consider al-Tahtawi's reaction to the mirror in lacanian terms[65], we would look at misrecognition, a natural step in self-observation, as an organic part of travel and exploration. Cultural shock is nothing but the temporary struggle of the self to grasp the alien practices of the new milieus where the traveler finds her/himself. This

[65] Jacques Lacan 1966, 94.

shock, better rendered as surprise, does not always entail resistance on the part of the traveler regardless of its disorienting effect on the psyche. In the absence of a cultural precedent in the imagination, the mind strives to find meaning in the new culture, being temporarily puzzled, yet this process can be full of wonder and of pleasure. Being situated in the cafe, one of the iconic spaces of French modernity, al-Tahtawi experiences an embodied understanding of self-identity that takes on new visual dimensions. This identity that al-Tahtawi observed in his imago cannot be divorced from the new spatial arrangements, aesthetic configurations, and the gender politics of the cafe while his misrecognition, if it leads to any fragmentation of self, it remains a temporary fragmentation aligned with the Lacanian process of misrecognition occasioned by this new cultural encounter; here the mirrors are concrete and their effect remains optical and aesthetic, multiplying his reflection, thereby creating the illusion of being among crowds in the *kasbah*, a Muslim parallel of the imagination necessary to establish the intelligibility of his experience in the *Takhlis* text. His reaction is that of wonder and surprise occasioned by new cultural discovery of the French mirror(s), a modern element of French interior design and a reflexive self-image mode aligned with the various graphic means of modern representation and with the Heideggerian/Cartesian subject perspective I analyzed earlier.

Al-Tahtawi's many acts of translatability in *Takhlis* involve a compromise where European practices and ideals are justified while being linguistically and ideologically rendered into Arabic. Often this process is initiated by the Imam's sentient experience of the urban environment of Europe where his senses delight in alien phenomena, which he consequently seeks to render palatable to his native Muslims, implicating him in hybrid

intellectual operations that strive to bridge between Islamic and European thought traditions. The first instance of this takes place during al-Tahtawi's initial visual contact with Europe--an event that occasioned the imam's sensuous enjoyment of the forbidden, which instigates a divergent aesthetic position he strives to justify through a combination of Muslim moral universalism, the ideals of Enlightenment aesthetics, and the Prophet's hadith. On his way to France and while setting anchor at the port of the Italian city, Messina, al-Tahatawi and his fellow travelers contemplate the sight of the city from the distance of its port in the evening, sighting its outline with aesthetic rapture; the view of its "towering castles and lofty temples" proved to be magnificent as the many lights and lamps lit by the Messina inhabitants "continued to burn until daybreak," leading al-Tahtawi to comment on the flickering lights, being a nocturnal source of prolonged scopic pleasure for the visitors, which also implies the ingenuity, prosperity, and superior aesthetic sensibility of Messina's people.[66]

Al-Tahtawi reports that this experience was enhanced by "the way they strike the bells," which the imam found "truly delightful," despite the likelihood that this will trigger off the shock of his Muslim readers given the diabolic association tolling bells have in the Muslim lore[67]. Anticipating Muslim rebuke and after seemingly engaging with some of his companions in discussions on the moral validity and soundness of enjoying the sound of church bells, he composes a *maqama* (poem) where he justifies his position. Its first

[66] Newman 2004, 144.

[67] See Imam al-Nawawi 1999, *Book 18, Hadith 169.* "Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him) said : 'The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "The bell is one of the musical instruments of Satan,"'narrated by Muslim as a *sahih* hadith (accurate).

concept contains the argument that "nothing prevents a healthy disposition from admiring something that is beautiful with chastity," (la maani'a anna al-tabi'a al-salima tamilu ila istihsan athati al-jamila ma'a al 'afaf) that even the sound of the tolling bells found displeasing and sinister by the Prophet Mohammad qualifies as subject to his aesthetic appreciation since it does not stir sinful deeds or thoughts.

These lines privilege a poetic of desire that mediates between reason and sensation where al-Tahtawi's aesthetic cognition, appreciation, and intellectual justification of the tolling bells reconcile the generalities of reason with the particulars of sense. The statement that "nothing should prevent a healthy disposition from enjoying something beautiful" expresses a view about a culturally- alien practice subjected to universal aesthetic laws that marry reason to sensibility as outlined in the European intellectual tradition.[68] Reason here lies in the essential quality of the healthy mind to admire beautiful things while sensibility resides in the ability to identify an object/subject as beautiful through its ability to elicit a particular sensation. Al-Tahtawi's view also fuses the sight of the panorama of Messina with the auditory effect of the tolling bells, a Hegelian perspective that privileges sound and sight over other senses, but also a romantic vision that applies a pleasant auditory sensation to visually grasped progress in the Messina *Umran* (city structures and civilized spaces), a poetic pictorial moment with almost cinematographic proportions. However, this audio-visual spectacle causes the Imam a religious anxiety that springs from an established anti-bell-striking Muslim injunction rooted in the prophet's Hadith.[69] The Imam's conflict

[68] See Eagleton 1990, 15. For Baumgarten, aesthetic cognition mediates between the generalities of reason and the particulars of sense, as reported by Eagleton.

[69] Hegel, *The Philosophy of Fine Art*, 1920 [1818-1828], vol. 111, 14.

also rises from the fact that this position is situated in the European city, a space of Otherness with opposed associations; for it is simultaneously located in the land of Christendom where "infidels" toll bells in church towers, and in the desirable space of organized modern urbanity. Realizing that tolling bells is part and parcel of the civilized European city scene, which he just depicted in glowing terms, he first divorces the sound of the striking church bells from the Muslim tradition and analyzes it against the moral universalism of Enlightenment aesthetics, establishing a new Enlightenment-inspired episteme of sensibility in his nascent reform discourse that will operate on several occasions in *Takhlis*. Then, perhaps judging this gesture ideologically insufficient for his native Muslims, al-Tahtawi strives to reconcile it with the Muslim inclination to admire visually-pleasing things, affirming that he has "a deep desire for every being filled with beauty" in reference to another hadith saying that "God is indeed beautiful and he loves beautiful things (inna allaha jamilun yuhibbu al-jamal)[70]. Before proceeding to examine other instances where al-Tahtawi expresses an Enlightenment-inspired aesthetic perspective on the European phenomena he witnesses, it is important to note here that his travelogue narration is a retrospective act that recalls past events through a filter of European acculturation.[71] This further supports my claim that al-Tahtawi engages in his

[70] See Imam al. Nawawi 1999. Abdullah bin Mas'ud (May Allah be pleased with him) reported: The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "He who has, in his heart, an ant's weight of arrogance will not enter Jannah." Someone said: "A man likes to wear beautiful clothes and shoes?" Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said, "Allah is Beautiful, He loves beauty. Arrogance means ridiculing and rejecting the Truth and despising people" narrated by Muslim and compiled by Imam al-Nawawi in *Riyad al-Salihin*. For more on this, see *Book 1 (the Book of Miscellany), Hadith 612.*

[71] See Newman 2004, 139, 292. In fact, al-Tahtāwī published a translation into Arabic of Depping soon after his return to Egypt—his version of Depping's *Aperçu historique sur les moeurs et coutumes des nations* appearing in print even before *Takhlīs*.

translational practice post-exposure to the aesthetic forms and experiences of European modernity.

In keeping with cultural and moral reconciliation between Europe and Islam, European cleanliness constitutes an essential character trait that the imam noted on his ship to France before taking heed of other formalistic matters pertaining to aesthetic judgments:

> Among the laudable qualities of the Franks that distinguish them from other Christians is their love for cleanliness...the crew of the ship that we were on took great care cleaning it, removing the dirt as much as possible; they washed the sitting area everyday, whereas the sleeping cabins were swept every two days. They also beat, aired and removed the dirt from the mattresses, etc., despite the fact that 'cleanliness is part of the true faith' of which not an ounce can be found among them![72]

Taking note of the French practice of cleanliness implies its absence elsewhere in the referential compass of the Imam. Indeed, it is made against negative statements about two other ethnic groups who show less of this hygienic and visually-pleasing quality. The first, and which remains implicit, relates to his fellow Muslim Egyptians whom he does not place at the height of the cleanliness spectrum later in the book when he produces ethnographic taxonomies. The second group comprises the Egyptian Copts whom he believes to be "filthy" and intellectually deficient and seem throughout the book to work as a foil to Muslim Egyptians who are relatively literate, intelligent, and clean. We, therefore, already see a comparative dynamic created here on the basis of religion and ethnicity that ties pleasant aspects of culture to superior intellectual prowess. In the same quote, al-Tahtawi identifies cleanliness, following the hadith phrase of the prophet Mohamed *al-tuhur shatr*

[72] Ibid., 139.

al-iman[73] (cleanliness is half the faith), establishing it as a fundamental Muslim quality symptomatic of faith. The Imam also conversely affirms that its lack denotes disbelief in God, an unforgivable sin in the eyes of Muslims. Still within al-Tahtawi's gestures of ideological reconciliation and in a manner that is typical of the discovery aspect that characterizes the *Rihla* genre, the imam states that cleanliness is a laudable quality among the Franks "despite the fact that 'cleanliness is part of the true faith' of which not an ounce can be found among them![74]". Feeling surprise, the imam subtly modifies the Muslim belief that only those with true faith show cleanliness, recognizing this quality in the French infidels (*Kuffar*). This *hadith* citation has the effect of shrinking the ideological distance between the Muslims and the French who seem to share this important moral and aesthetic value.

Another gesture of al-Tahtawi's ideological reconciliation pertains to women's position in French social life, and this one clearly pushes the boundaries of what is acceptable within the moral and religious paradigm of the imam. Curiously, and in a manner that reveals the fundamental place beauty of form plays in the percolation of European culture and the encroachment of alien values onto al-Tahtawi's gender ideology, he sets the stage for the introduction of French foreign gender etiquette by painting the

---

[73] "Abu Malik al-Ash'ari reported: 'The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said: Cleanliness is half of faith and al-Hamdu Lillah (Praise be to Allah) fills the scale, and Subhan Allah (Glory be to Allah) and al-Hamdu Lillah (Praise be to Allah) fill up what is between the heavens and the earth, and prayer is a light, and charity is proof (of one's faith) and endurance is a brightness and the Holy Qur'an is a proof on your behalf or against you. All men go out early in the morning and sell themselves, thereby setting themselves free or destroying themselves. See *Sahih Muslim, Vol. 1, Book of Purification*, Hadith 432, 223.

[74] Ibid.

elegant domestic space, *le salon et le foyer (*the French elaborate living room and home where guests are received) where divergent French gender customs take place. It appears al-Tahtawi subconsciously frames French women's social participation within pleasant elaborate home interiors, which simultaneously reflect French refinement, prowess, and pragmatics.[75]

He, thus, initiates his section on French sociability with a commentary on the splendid sight and quality of the French homes, applauding the superior craftsmanship of the construction and furnishings and the wonderful judgment of their engineers and owners. In doing this, al-Tahtawi produces yet another France-Egypt aesthetic comparative that contains the politics of negation that characterized his talk on taste and civility earlier in the book:

> The walls and the floors of rooms are made out of wood, which they cover with paint. On the walls, they put nicely embossed paper, which is better than the custom of whitewashing walls with lime sine, unlike lime, the paper does not give anything off when you touch the wall. Moreover, it is cheaper, nicer to look at and easier to apply, especially in their rooms which are decorated with all kinds of furnishings that defy description.[76]

---

[75] See Newman's note in *An Imam in Paris,* 292. Newman affirms that al-Tahtawi read Montesquieu. In my view, and though we have no evidence that he read his contribution on taste, he must have read its reverberations in his other works. Montesquieu examined taste as a function of the viewer's mind, through the filter of the milieu of worldly refinement in order to describe how the mind perceives pleasure. He presents his concepts in his "Essay on Taste", which appears in *Diderot and d'Alembert's Encyclopédie* under the entry "Goût" (1757), an entry which also includes treatises on the same subject by Voltaire and d'Alembert. Montesquieu lists six qualities that provide pleasure to the mind: order, variety, symmetry, contrasts, the ability to provoke curiosity, and the ability to provoke surprise. Like Lambert, Montesquieu states that he is more interested in pleasure than beauty. He also argues that our minds experience pleasing objects in three ways: sensibility, delicacy, and the *je ne sais quoi* idea they provoke in the mind.

[76] Newman 2004, 214.

The imam has a narrative strategy that moves from the generals of French construction to the particulars of taste and pragmatics, starting with the material out of which French house walls are made, then moving onto other specific details that relate to French indoor living. Each depicted element is a bridge to more generalized statements on the nature of the French, and each conceptual bridge contains either an explicit or implicit comparison with Egypt. The poetics of negation dominate this process, often implying the absence of the extolled practices and qualities in al-Tahtawi's native land. The above paragraph, for example, contains a number of comparisons that all suggest a superior relation to Egyptian dwellings. French walls have "nicely embossed paper," which is judged not only "nicer" by the Imam, but also "better than the custom of whitewashing walls with lime sine," as it is customary in his native Egypt. Then, in a more ethnographically-oriented gesture, al-Tahtawi comments on the practical and aesthetic value of the French practice of embossing walls which, unlike Egyptian ones, use paper that is "cheaper, nicer to look at, and easier to apply" and "does not give anything off when you touch the wall.[77]" After compounding the aesthetic judgment and practical sense of the French to their economic pragmatics, he adds that their rooms "are decorated with all kinds of furnishings that defy description," thereby embedding his statement with visually-pleasant bourgeois commodities of modern consumption.

In describing the layout of the typical French home, he proceeds as follows:

> Under their beds, which are covered with sackcloth, fabrics with plant designs and other coverings, there are magnificent carpets on which they put their shoes. In each

[77] Ibid.

> room there is a chimney in the shape of a ledge made out of fine marble. On top of it there is a pendulum clock, on both sides of which they are vases out of mock white marble or crystal. They contain real or artificial flowers. At either end of the mantlepiece there are wheel-shaped Frankish candelabra, the true appearance of which can only be imagined by one who has seen them lit... their rooms contain a musical instrument called a piano (al-biyanu). [78]

I inserted this long passage to illustrate the effect of the domestic bourgeois field of European subjectivity on the mind of al-Tahtawi who clearly admires the arrangement and appeal of French domestic commodities where he is received. He takes care to detail the quality and material as well as the appearance and visual impression each piece of furnishing has. Interestingly, al-Tahtawai paints this scene as typical of the French home, regardless of the clearly middle-class character of its aesthetic arrangement and the high pecuniary value of its objects. Upon reading this section, one is made to understand that every French room if fitted with a chimney "made of fine marble," pendulum clock, an indescribably splendid "wheel-shaped Frankish candelabra," and a piano to play music. In a narrative gesture that collapses class into ethnography, the bourgeois French subject becomes a proxy for all French people whose private space is taken to disclose the true character of the whole nation by the *Rihla* narrator.[79]

In the following section, al-Tahtawi's commentary on French subjectivity becomes more direct, moving onto categorically- intellectual and cultural matters and concentrating

---

[78] Ibid.

[79] In earler sections of the book, al-Tahtawi mentioned French "ruffians" as frequenters of low-class cafes and hashish dens

on things and practices that reflect civilizational progress. Within these narrative spaces, we further sense the impact the subjectivity of modernity has on the imam's psyche. French literacy is apparent in the presence of domestic study rooms with elaborate "finely crafted" writing instruments, desks, newspapers, and pictures and "strange things that once belonged to various ancestors." The French are up-to-date and take care to socially share what they know with their visitors. He notes a premeditated effort on their part to socially-construct their literate and modern identity, for "when they receive people," they sometimes put out the latest books and newspapers on the desks of their rooms "for those of the guests who take pleasure in reading such things" (litasliyati man araada mina al-duyuuf an yusarriha naadirah wa yunazzih khaatirah)[80]. Al-tahtawi contends that this "bears testimony to the importance the French attach to reading books, which are familiar companions to them" (fahiya unsuhum). After lauding the literacy of the Franks and the elegant and equipped private spaces that harbor and feed it, al-Tahtawi discusses French gender politics within the social context, a process where he lavishes attention on French women's embodied presence. His politics of feminine domesticity appear to support a contemporary French gender ideology that conceptualizes the Woman as a source of visual delight and comfort in the house. On the occasions that require sociability, the quality that al-Tahtawi judged as a high signifier of *taqaddum* (progress), the "mistress of the house" has a central role that lies in performing hospitality with tact. Interestingly, visual appeal, harmony of form, the pleasance of movement and of comportment, and the sensation

[80] Ibid., 215.

produced within the imam help justify French women's central and exhibitionary role in in-home social visits.

> The pleasure of all these splendid things is further enhanced by the presence of the mistress of the house (jamee'a haadih al-tuhaf yukammil al-uns biha huduur sayyedat al-bayt), who greets the guests first, while her husband does so afterwards. What a difference between these salons with all these fineries (al-lata'if) and our rooms, where by way of greeting a visitor receives a chibouk, most from the hands of a black slave.[81]

Despite al-Tahtawi's statement in a later section in the book that French women display a "small measure of chastity," their exhibitionary participation and privileged position in social interactions does not elicit any negative reactions in the imam, but is received instead with sensual approbation.[82] Al-Tahtawi finds French women's inclusion in the etiquette of hospitality suave and pleasant, delighting in their sartorial elegance and their social grace. The domestic enclaves described above are splendid sites where French social customs unfold to reveal a gender norm that puts females at the forefront of the social scene, giving precedence to women over men. Once again, the politics of negation that dominate the ethnographic comparative of earlier sections are at work, and interestingly, they indirectly enforce a foreign gender norm by applauding the appeal of a particular kind of social performativity that centers on the visibility, social grace, and attractiveness of women. In this context, the customary Egyptian social practice where "by way of greeting a visitor receives a chibouk, most from the hands of a black slave"[83] is cited as unpleasant, for it

[81] Ibid., 216.

[82] Ibid, 178

[83] Ibid.

lacks all the elaborate social protocols of the French and the feminine presence that crowns it. Surely unintentional by al-Tahtawi, the black slave is registered as an aesthetic foil to the white French woman of the aforementioned social interactivity, but the act of offering a mere "chibouk" to the home visitor explicitly stamps the Egyptian practice with deficiency. The scarcity of social protocols and of commodities negates the refinement and abundance that characterize the French salons, and indeed, the imam here explicitly states the civility comparative through his exclamatory phrase, "What a difference between these salons with all these fineries (al-lata'if) and our rooms."[84] In addition to the negation dynamic that characterizes this statement, and which once again paires the civility of class and commodity abundance or its lack thereof with ethnicity (white woman vs black slave/the French vs the Egyptian), the unproblematic participation of French women in social life is both received and reported by al-Tahtawi in terms that carry a sensuous delight produced by orderly forms and refined practices.

Earlier in the narrative, al-Tahtawi performed a similar narrative gesture which married the appeal of form, to order, and to alien gender practice. He describes the Marseilles Cafe famous for its mirror effect on al-Tahtawi, as being "magnificent" and conspicuously "extraordinary in terms of appearance and arrangement."[85] Here the cafe is rendered as a site of wonder and fantasy, as an organized alien space of sociability, of work and of gender relations that far from being destabilizing, offer alternative models of work

---

[84] Newman 216. In keeping with French pragmatics and superior construction design, al-Tahtawi affirms later in the book that French houses are always bright because of the many windows, which are placed with magnificent engineering skill.

[85] Ibid., 158.

and social organization. He notes that the "owner was a woman who sat at a raised desk. In front of her, there were inkwells, pens, and a list[86]," details that, while clearly diverging from an established Muslim/Egyptian custom, fit well into the climate of modern French pragmatics and progress he paints throughout *Takhlis.*[87] The cafe is described in copious aesthetic and practical detail; its space is divided according to functions and roles; patrons sit on chairs "upholstered with flower-printed fabrics" and "superior mahogany wood" tables covered with marble slabs. Literacy here is apparent in the style of running the cafe; there is a consistent operation that insures both customer and owner are satisfied for "When one of the customers orders something from a waiter, he submits it to the owner, who orders that it be brought to him. She writes it down in her ledger and tears off a small piece of paper on which the price is put. The waiter gives it to the customer when the latter wishes to pay."[88] Though we have a mere report of things with the exception of the positive qualifiers employed in describing the cafe appearance (magnificent), the arrangement and the workflow and of the cafe is registered with deference, taking care to paint the scene as a highly-functional place of leisure that delights the senses.

It is precisely in al-Tahtawi's engagement with the bourgeois socio-cultural forms and urban spaces --the physical structures of the civic institutions of modernity, the parks

---

[86] Ibid., 218. Later in *Takhlis*, he insists that "Even women travel, either alone or accompanied by a man with whom they have entered into an agreement regarding the journey and whose expenses they pay for along the way. Indeed, women also have a passion for knowledge (mutawalle'aat bi hub al-ma'arif), for discovering the secrets of beings and learning more about them(wa al-wuquf 'ala asrar al-ka'inat wa al-bahth 'anha). Is it perhaps not so that some of them come from Europe to Egypt to see its wonders."

[87] Newman 158.

[88] Ibid.

and boulevards of the French city, the fashions and the socio-cultural protocols of the French in his text--that a new understanding of al-Tahtawi's experience of modernity, translational practice, and reform discourse comes to light. Indeed, al-Tahtawi's privileging of Eurocentric epistemologies and bourgeois spaces and practices does not imply a self-deprecating attitude or belief, but rather shows that the aesthetic spaces of French modernity and the humanist Enlightenment discourse work in tandem, thereby naturalizing a bourgeois identity that even an Azharite scholar finds difficult to resist. It is important not to overlook the ideological conflict of the imam, his attachment to Egyptian native identity, *and* his criticism of what he saw to be French atheism and overt individualism. Indeed, his simultaneous reaffirmation of his Islamic identity and his articulation of a class-oriented aesthetic subjectivity helps establish class as an insidious and potent colonialist modern paradigm, with a socio-cultural and economic network of aesthetically-apprehended concepts and subjective values that insistently seep into Muslim Egypt. Modern middle-class identity has polyvalent epistemic and ideological interconnections that primarily live in the visual field of perception and the social layout of the bourgeois European. This class paradigm has hierarchical logics that start to work their way through discourses of postcolonial reform, and fascinatingly, the first-person realist narrative of the *rihla* proves to be a convenient mode of bourgeois hegemony precisely because it implements the politics of wonder and enchantment delivered by aesthetic judgment.

Finally, the discourse of *Takhlis* reflects a modern conception of the state and the place of the citizen, which depends on a new aesthetic perspective that cannot be divorced

from the new order of knowledge al-Tahtawi was internalizing. Indeed, there are multiple instances in al-Tahtawi's account that marry aesthetic form to reason and to the modern civic discourse of justice, liberty, and equity prevalent in French society. In reporting on the people of Paris, they are several correlates between liberty, travel, justice, and the democratization of taste, embedding once again an ethnographic comparison to the East that involves a characteristic negative. Accordingly, al-Tahtawi does not neglect to mention the social-mobility ideal included in Article 3 of the French Constitution, and which democratizes eligibility of all French people to all ranks, however, and interestingly for al-Tahtawi's narrative, he rationalizes the principle by means of another racial comparative that deploys the evolutionary language of progress:

> In doing so, their [the French] knowledge will increase and their civilization does not stagnate like that of the people of China or the Hind, where people set great store by the hereditary nature of crafts and professions.[89]

I reiterate that *Takhlis* contains a class hegemonic practice that reinforces middle-class subjectivity as it affirms its modern humanist ethos, making sure to couch aesthetic sensibility within the rational and civic principle even when it means bending a contrarian Muslim principle[90]. We have seen several of al-Tahtawi's ideological maneuvers at the Messina Port, the Marseille cafe, and the gender politics that govern French sociability. At the beginning of his section on the French Constitution, he declares that French people are equal before the law regardless of rank and that even the king can have charges brought

[89] Ibid., 208.

[90] See Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, 1990, 3.

against him in the event a breach of law shall occur. He directly urges the reader, "behold the first article is highly conducive to the introduction of justice."[91] Later in the section on the people of Paris, he introduces travel as a necessary, hygienic and egalitarian practice among the French that enables, among other things, the cultivation of taste. For the French, al-Tahtawi tells us, "See no harm in allowing the public into the palaces and castles of the king of France and the members of the royal family" and to "marvel at the house of the king and his family and gaze at the furniture at the palace and all the wonderful things it contains," a practice that al-Tahtawi enjoyed himself affirming the aesthetic value of such act (al-umur al-'ajiba allati yanbaghi al-tafarruj 'alayha)[92]. He, then inserts a familiar aesthetic comparative that establishes the taste of French royals as superior to that of the Egyptian elites (al-a'ayan), arguing that the "the objects in the royal apartments are attractive, not because of the value of the materials but because of the overall excellent workmanship with which they have been made," and that they lack "the precious stones that you find in great supply in the houses of our princes and notables," emphasizing the French basic principle "that everything is done for the sake of beauty and elegance (al-tajammul), rather than for excessive ornamentation" (al-zina), unlike the Egyptian "outward show of wealth or vainglory[93]" (ithhaar al-ghina wa al-tafaakhur). Note here that al-Tahtawi's discourse combines the French drive for knowledge, the egalitarian principle, and aesthetic judgment, taking special care to show that the royal spaces and commodities

[91] Newman 105.

[92] Newman 2004, 218.

[93] Ibid.

enjoyed by the French reflect the constitutional principle of equity through scopic access to the private royal sphere and its unpretentious taste.

Al-Tahtawi's approving view of French aesthetics does not extend to issues of faith, for this latter seems to be the one element that made French culture potentially unpalatable to Muslims, a problematic that gets resolved through his depiction of the institution of the theater. In speaking of French literature, he laments their Greek habit of incorporating deities, which he believes to be "heathen" even when the French do so for the sake of metaphors.[94] However, the theater for al-Tahtawi is entertaining and pedagogical and seems to be well-subordinated to the civility and progress of the French culture. Here he inserts a description of its spectacular aesthetics, showing how the beauty of form serves the artistic ingenuity of story-telling and theatrical imitation. Naturally, the theater participates in the image of social progress al-Tahtawi paints throughout the book, and regardless of some of its "satanic leanings[95]," it tends to play a beneficial role in society and to reflect the constitutional principles extolled earlier.

Al-Tahtawi's early reception of French modern practices of taste and bourgeois citizenship was located within the colonial and post-colonial exchanges that happened between Egypt and France, notably the relationship of tutelage that was binding Egypt with France at this time period. The relational nature between the French and al-Tahtawi was revealed motivated by the self-Other differential dynamic that governed Orientalizing colonial and class practices, including exoticizing ones. And even though al-Tahtawi was

---

[94] Ibid., 188.

[95] Ibid.

never explicit about being a subject of French exotic desire, his self-Orientalizing practice in *Takhlis* reveals his internalization of this (post)colonial phenomenon. In fact, the rich Orientalist repertoire of French literature produced out of this relationship demonstrate the role of the Eastern aesthetic in the economy of French desire, which motivated and sustained, not only the colonial relationship with Egypt, but also the support postcolonial Egyptian nationalists, like Ya'qub Sanu' and Mustapha Kamil received in later decades. In fact, the Orient constituted a whole desire system for the French, as revealed by the narrative modalities and metaphors that dominated expression of bourgeois taste and love in *La Jongleuse* (1901).

CHAPTER II

T*he Orientalist Modalities in the Expression of Desire and Taste in Rachilde's La Jongleuse*

La Jongleuse (Rachilde 1900), highlights the role of the Orient in the French subject's economy of desire and practices of distinction at the turn-of-the-century. This *Fin-de-siècle* French novel deploys class distinction to normalize colonial agendas at home whereby native French taste depends on a dialectic of desire where in romantic narratives, colonial modalities work in tandem with Orientalist aesthetics. The importance of class status for the French is reflected in sexual desire's fusion with commodities in the plot of *La Jongleuse*. The Orient was involved in exoticizing French practices and discourses of distinction, which implicated the Oriental subject in a complicated relationship with France. Being at once exotic/desired Other, coloninized subject, and later "reformed" ally and friend, Egypt was not only involved in an ambiguous power relationship with France, it later tapped into French exoticizing practices to prove equivalence and strengthen diplomatic bonds with Europe. Egypt also learned class's role in intercontinental diplomacy, including the place of exotic desire in the latter.

La Jongleuse was written when Egypt was heavily implicated in French capitalist modernity when the Oriental exotic had become a ubiquitous pleasure sign for the French elite subject who had been aesthetically-integrated into the colonial enterprise in the East[96].

[96] Peter Gran 1998; Hala Halim 2013. Both Peter Gran and Hala Halim talk about the influence of French and British capitalism in Egypt; See EzzelArab 2009, 301-324; See also Raouf Abbas and Assem El-

Assimilating the Eastern trope into the French novel's romantic intrigue through the Oriental commodity established the East as an aesthetic device of desire integral to the expression of French subjectivity in the context of global modernity. This was done using narrative modalities derived from a specific European geopolitical conceptualization of the East which locates it in a distant geography and temporality. As I show in the other chapters of this study, France was equally becoming irresistible to Egyptian elites who entertained diplomatic, educational, and economic connections with European modernity. As early as the 1820s, the French and Egyptian travel literature produced out of contact between France and Egypt grappled with notions of native identity in the context of modernity and cross-cultural exchange.[97]

As the foreign became increasingly available to literate classes through print and visual culture, Egypt and France were mutually-involved in ethnographic semantics that reciprocally established their identities as opposed yet mutually-appealing[98]. Being valorized as distant and different, France and Egypt associated each other with desirable

Dessouky in *The Large Landowning Class and the Peasantry in Egypt, 1837-1952*, 2011; Kenneth Cuno 2015.

[97] See Ibrahim Abu-Lughod 1963; Khalid Bayomi 1995. For an understanding of the Arab literary poetics of encountering European modernity, See Tarek El-Ariss in *Trials of Arab Modernity*, 2013; For the psychology and motivations of cross-cultural travel between Muslims and Europeans in the nineteenth century, see Roxane Euben in *Journeys to the Other Shore* 2006. Also check Anwar Louca in *Voyageurs et Ecrivains Egyptiens en France en IXIe Siècle* 1970 ; Joseph A. Massad 2001. To understand how the epistemologies of modernity became endemic to Arab subjectivity, see Stephen Sheehi in *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*, 2004. For a study on the role of travel, translation, and the poetics of desire in French colonialism in Egypt, see Shaden M. Tageldin in *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt*, 2011.

[98] For elite encounters between Europeans and Tunisians, see Julia Ann Clancy-Smith in "Where Elites Meet: Harem Visits, Sea Bathing, and Sociabilities in Precolonial Tunisia, c. 1800-1881," 2011.

qualities and concepts they felt lacking at home and deserving of selective appropriation. The two identities filtered each other through geopolitical prisms and aesthetic perspectives refashioned into native practices of taste[99]. The French colonial enterprise was equally successful at home due to its sensuous deployment of the Oriental trope in desire narratives of bourgeois interiority, exploiting a psychic dimension in European subjectivity, which was eager to experience Eastern life due to an increasingly cold environment of pragmatics and utilitarianism at home. These oppositional dialectics had the effect of erecting France and Egypt as opposed temporal and sensual modalities in each other's desire and identity discourses, with France placing Egypt in the sensual Eastern past and Egypt placing France in the orderly pragmatic future. But both identities aesthetically experienced each other as opposed geographies through distinct practices of taste and discourses of subjectivity involved in intricate economies of desire.

[99] For an understanding of the ethnographic representation and the desire poetics of Orientalist French fiction in the eighteenth century, see Montesquieu. *Lettres Persanes*, 1721; For a blatant sexualized projection of the Oriental female encountered during travel to the East, see Pierre Loti's, *Les Trois dames de la Kasbah*, 1884. Also note Gustave Flaubert's use of the Oriental metaphor in depicting Emma's adulterous embrace as an "odalisque" in *Madame Bovary*, 1856. Also see Flaubert's *Correspondance*, 1850-1854. For an oversexualized portrayal of the Oriental female and the merger between the ancient past and desire, see Salammbo, 1883. See Flaubert's *Voyage en Egypte*, and his depiction of the Egyptian courtesan Kuchuk Hanem, 1881; See also Antoine Galland's *Voyage à Constantinople,* 2002 [*1672-1673]*.

The romance plot of *La Jongleuse* participates in this geopolitical reality as it deploys overt desire dialectics and Oriental metaphors integral to French *Fin-de-siècle* bourgeois subjectivity. From the beginning of the novel, one is confronted by an abundance of Oriental motifs and tropes in the context of sexual attraction and wealth. The romantic encounter between Éliante Donalger and Léon Reille is governed by an unequal social-class dynamic where Éliante, a rich French Creole widow who grew up in the tropics, manipulates the Oriental commodity in ways that enhance and channel her erotic energy. She does this by turning the private chambers of her Paris mansion into an Oriental fantasy of exotic objects, which disarms Léon, a destitute young medical student she meets at a Parisian ball.

The politics of class permeate the telling of attraction in the story to such an extent that our first glance at Éliante, at the ball, is informed by wealth symbols, introducing her within a cadre of luxury, with the Oriental commodity enhancing her seductiveness and Léon's desire to conquer her. Upon exiting the ball, she wears a beautiful Eastern shawl elaborately decorated with pearls and studded with Oriental blades. The aesthetic of an exotic beauty feminizes her and marks her as an enigmatic woman set apart from the rest of the elite French society with whom she mingles.[100] Like a statement or a personal signature, the Eastern shawl crowns her social exits, putting an end to the "monotones soirées artificielles" she spends in privileged leisure.[101] The contrast between the boredom

[100] Rachilde, in fact, exploits this idea of using clothes to mark difference and transgression in her depiction of unconventional female characters. We note this in *Monsieur Vénus* and its cross-dressing protagonists. the novel *Madame Adonis* (1888) also presents a woman who dresses (and passes) as a male. Rachilde similarly uses crossdressing as a way to challenge gender norms in her novel *Nono* (1884) through the amazone figure.

of wealth and celebratory “feu d’artifice” appearance of Éliante’s “écharpe violente" identifies her as a uniquely sensual and mysterious woman of the elite class, unpredictable and resisting easy classification, both necessary elements in seduction scenarios. This uncertainty is best reflected in Léon’s anxious hope for “une conquête peut-être possible.”[102] Here, we are given access to Léon ’s nervous thoughts, as he concludes that she must be “une femme riche” since she has “une voiture discrète[103].” Once seated next to her inside her carriage, Léon’s anxiety stems from the fear to soil her fancy dress with his muddy shoes, an awkward moment of inadequacy is voiced by his over compensatory apology, “Pardon, Madame! Je vous fais mes excuses...je ne suis qu'un idiot, décidément, je marche sur votre robe.”[104] Léon’s class anxiety is further underscored by Éliante’s overly relaxed loud laughter, a gesture which further reinforces the class gap between the two.

In the following scene, the description of Éliante’s richly-decorated home blends the comfort of wealth with the discourse of seduction, naturalizing Éliante’s magnetism by means of radiant decorative objects and Léon’s tactile experience of its warm cozy atmosphere. The shiny quality of her salon’s crystals and silver objects confer a spectacular air on her indoor space, exciting Léon ’s visual appetite. Léon’s progressive seduction in this scene is told by means of his ambient sensorial reaction to objects:

> Autour de lui, le silence profond, l'atmosphère tiède engourdissait la pensée. On avait la sensation de s’enfoncer dans un duvet. Les cristaux lançaient de tremblants

[101] Rachilde 1900, 29.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., 31.

> rayons lunaires, l'argent légères aux doigts, tintaient discrètement sur les porcelaines de couleurs tendres ne réveillant que l'appétit, et quand il buvait, le parfum du vin lui donnait l'illusion de mâcher des fleurs.[105]

Conscious of the cold rainy weather outside and unaccustomed to the sight of luxury and the comfort of wealth, every single element in this scene conspires to disarm him. His senses delight in the lush environment of Éliante's home, becoming simultaneously conscious of the soft sofa quilt, the luminescent hanging crystals, the tender reflections of the silverware on the porcelain, and the taste and aroma of the wine he sips, the latter giving him the sensation of chewing flowers. We see here that the narrative of seduction begins to unfold by means of decadent sensorial elements, including aesthetically-pleasing visuals, tactile, olfactory, and gustatory experiences, which will continue to channel Léon 's sexual desire for Éliante who consciously sustains the attraction through manipulating exotic objects.

Éliante's alluring personality is embodied in the different exotic identities she deliberately stages, as she dons colorful outfits that evoke the Orient and engages in theatrics, like her unexpected performance of a Javanese juggling act and her risqué enactment of a sultry Spanish dance.[106] Exotic commodities dominate the space of the unfolding romance between Éliante and Léon and participate in Éliante's overt deployment of erotics. In fact, the whole plot of *La Jongleuse* unfolds like a theatrical performance enabled by the dominance of dazzling Oriental commodities inscribed with erotic meaning.

---

[105] Ibid., 39.

[106] See Heidi Brevik-Zender 2015, 77.

To understand how Orientalism participates in bourgeois desire and class distinction in *La Jongleuse,* it is important to situate it in the context of the historical and socio-economic changes taking place in late-nineteenth-century France, particularly French colonialism and modernity and the impact they had on native bourgeois-class consciousness.[107] The year 1900 marks the date of yet another grand celebration of colonial and capitalist achievement, *L'exposition Universelle* (1900), the world's biggest fair and spectacle whose significance depends on French colonial holdings and the influx of commodities from the East. The World Exhibit was, for the French subject, a representation of Eastern peoples and Oriental decors, a phantasmagoria of commodities, a great occasion for titillating the senses of European visitors with cultural and ethnographic manifestations of Oriental Otherness.[108] This was also a time of travel and exploration, and more importantly a period of erotic fascination with Eastern history, most illustrated by the dominance of the exotic in the bourgeois imaginary, a decadent appreciation of ancient

[107] When I speak of bourgeois-class-consciousness in France, I exclude the bourgeoisie of the *monarchie de Juillet*, and which had a utilitarian ideology, and supported ideas, such as money, work, progress, and utility. The bourgeois class that concerns my dissertation is characterized by having a middle-class subjectivity, which, albeit shaped by profit and imperialism, still resists progress and utilitarianism as a lifestyle; and it dreams, instead, of a time of serenity and high culture akin to the one found in ancient Greece and ancient Egypt. This subjectivity embraces decadent aestheticism as a way to cope with the passage of time and to revive a sensibility perceived lost amid the fast tempo of modern life in Paris and other European capitals. This bourgeoisie, though not invested in utilitarian ideology, still upholds a culture of distinction through its engagement with aesthetic form and commodity consumption. Its lifestyle is contingent on profit to maintain its exotic tastes and a worldview informed by historical time. This class surrounds itself with Oriental aesthetical structures, objects, and practices that depend on wealth and reinforce a culture of distinction.

[108] See Said 1979, 2-3; The concept of Eastern Otherness was central to Edward Said's overall contention in *Orientalism.* Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident.'

civilizations, oriental commodity consumption, Egyptology, and the flourishing of museum culture as a mode of historical representation.[109]

La Jongleuse mirrors this strong French penchant for exoticism and shows how the Orient foregrounds the dialectics of bourgeois love and desire in addition to being a trope of wealth and class distinction. The presence of exotic objects in the nineteenth- century French romantic novel shows that conspicuous commodity consumption was becoming fundamental to bourgeois experience, as objects acquire a semantic and cultural significance that get projected onto characters' social identities, going so far as to symbolize the internal lives of those who possess and deploy them.[110] Fiction that evokes Eastern adventure and increased contact with the Orient had privileged an exotic/erotic aesthetic in the expression of French bourgeois interiority, with fantasy plot lines and characters who stimulate the senses of French audiences eager to explore Eastern life.[111]

---

[109] See Mitchell 1991, 13. Mitchell elaborates on the idea of spectacle in modern European cities. The visitor to Europe encountered "what one might call, echoing a phrase from Heidegger, the age of the world exhibition, or rather, the age of the: world-as-exhibition. World exhibition here refers not to an exhibition of the world but to the world conceived and grasped as though it were an exhibition**."** For an understanding of the crisis in European bourgeois subjectivity, read Donald Lowe's *A History of Bourgeois Perception*, 1982; See also Ellis Hanson's *Decadent Catholicism*, 1998. Hanson explores how late-nineteenth-century aesthetes found in the discourse of the church a medium for artistic and sexual expression. These include Oscar Wilde, Charles Baudelaire, J.-K. Huysmans, Walter Pater, and Paul Verlaine. Art for these writers constitutes a mystical and erotic experience similar to the one felt by Léon when internalizing the mystical quality of Éliante's home. In *decadent Catholicism*, we see a link between perversity and performativity, which are qualities present in the unfolding of Éliante's sexuality and many of Rachilde's characters.

[110] See Marjorie Garson 2007.

[111] Chateaubriand and Lamartine's travelogues, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem and Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages, pendant un voyage en orient*, 1832-1833; Gérard de Nerval also published a book on his Egyptian adventures, *Voyage en Orient*, 1852; Maxime du Camp and Gustave Flaubert, toured Egypt on Camp's government commissioned mission, taking calotypes of ancient Egyptian monuments; Gustave Flaubert was among the French writers of his time who were disturbed by modernity's encroachment onto history; Théophile Gautier wrote profusely on ancient Egypt and on Egyptological

This phenomenon turned the Oriental commodity into a fetishized symbol encoded with sexual and social-class overtones, ubiquitously figuring in social and domestic spaces, sartorial fashions, and in the very discourse of love and attraction. We note this fetish quality when Éliante fiévreusement describes her prized Tunisian amphora as the embodied essence of love and pleasure, turning it into an anthropomorphic being:

> N'est-ce pas qu'il est beau, reprit Éliante fiévreusement. Ah ! Il est unique. On ne peut rien concevoir de plus charmant. C'est à croire, quand la lumière le transperce obliquement, qu'une âme l'habite, que brûle un cœur dans cette urne d'albâtre ? Vous me parliez de plaisir ? Ceci est bien autre chose ! C'est de l'amour en puissance dans une matière inconnue, la folie de la volupté muette.[112]

This Tunisian antique object of exotica enables Éliante's expression of a decadent mode of French sensibility, creating a space of moral transgression felt necessary to combat her soirées monotones. The work of Donald Lowe shows that by the late-nineteenth-century, the European subject was experiencing a crisis of identity, occasioned by the cold pragmatics of the post-industrial age, which resulted in the appreciation of spaces and objects that invoked an opposed temporality and geopolitical identity to the West. [113]

The text of *La Jongleuse* encodes objects with libidinal meaning and assigns a history to foreign commodities by means of mise-en-abyme stories that tell of Éliante's first encounter with them in ways that assign them autonomous identities. Mostly travel

---

subjects in *Une nuit de Cléopâtre*, 1838; *Le Pied de Momie*,1840; *Le Roman de la Momie*, 1857. His text were written based on archeological findings, and hence had minute descriptions of ancient sites, mixing truth with fantasy. His characters were often mesmerized by old relics and ancient tombs and reflected a new obsession with the aesthetic of decay.

[112] Rachild 1900, 47.

[113] See Donald Lowe 1982. His *History of Bourgeois Perception* argues how the nineteenth-century bourgeois European became aware of historical time and started experiencing a crisis of subjectivity and felt nostalgia for the ancient past because of the period's cold pragmatism and mechanical time.

souvenirs and antiques, Éliante's objects are historicized through extra-diegetic narratives that place them within exotic past sentimental experiences. Fetishized things with no real utility value, they remain placed beyond her quotidian needs despite their prioritized place in her flashbacks, thereby increasing Éliante's possession of wealth.

Éliante's *femme fatale*[114] status is articulated by her exclusive ownership of the sign of the Orient, emphasizing the uncertainty and thrill her transgressive eroticism occasions in Léon 's psyche. In Chapter Seven, during Mlle Frehel's social visit, the latter, Éliante, and her niece, Missie live an Oriental fantasy by disguising themselves in several Eastern costumes for Léon 's exclusive view, a scopic position clearly fashioned after that of the seraglio patriarch with intense harem erotic overtones[115]: "Bientôt Léon eut autour de lui, papillonnant, tournoyant, s'arrêtant au miroir ou consultant son goût, toutes les beautés d'un harem."[116] The intention to put up a show likely to transport Léon and everyone present to the Eastern realm of the Muslim palace is made clear by Éliante's prompting proposition: "Allons, Mesdemoiselles, que l'on déplie les paravents et que l'on se déguise.

---

[114] See Ridge 1961. In "The Femme Fatale in French Decadence," Ridge lays out the main characteristics of the femme fatale in decadent literature. It situates her in artificial modernity and in the boudoirs and salons of high society. The femme fatale is one of the hallmarks of late-nineteenth-century French decadent literature; See also Baudelaire in the poem, "Les Métamorphoses du Vampire," from *Les Fleurs du mal*, 1857. Charles Baudelaire casts modern man in a love embrace with the modern woman who defies the conventional expectations of woman. She is a terrifying vampire who sucks the life out of man who searches for love and beauty to only encounter ugliness and death. This poem has been, for many French decadent writers, a thematic and aesthetic model for decadent poetry with its mixture of beauty and ugliness, love and terror, and decay as an aesthetic device for experiencing time and expressing the disillusionment with modernity; See also Emily Apter's "Weaponizing the Femme Fatale: Rachilde's Lethal Amazon, *La Marquise de Sade*" in Fashion Theory, 2004, 251-6.

[115] Raphael Falco 2007, 16. Falco argues that for Bataille, religious ecstasy and the inner experience of eroticism are parallel, attainable by similar means.

[116] Rachilde 1900, 235.

Il faut essayer mes robes."[117] For Léon, "ce fut un délire. La joyeuse gamine et la sérieuse madone se précipitèrent, celle-ci sur un brillant costume turc or et bleu, celle-la sur une ample robe japonaise à ramages d'argent sur fond vert," and the scene becomes vibrant as all its visual, auditory, and olfactory elements participate in Léon 's delirium[118]; while he sits anticipating, "derrière les paravents, on entendit cliqueter les agrafes de métal et se froisser les satins. Une odeur de fraîches femmes coquettes se mélangeaient aux dernières vapeurs sucrées de la collation.[119] In addition to the visual, aural, and odoriferant elements of this seraglio-inspired sartorial show, the harem metaphor also permeates the novel's gustatory experience, as Éliante's spiced afternoon tea provides the context for incorporating yet another erotic harem trope into the romance plot. The drink's potent condiments of vanilla, pistachio, and black pepper turn it into a playful hors d'oeuvre of the senses, a sort of gustatory foreplay that promises more things to come while continuing to deny Léon the certitude of sexual conquest:

> Pistache or framboise, cher monsieur ? Je vous autorise à les mêler comme je me prépare à le faire moi-même, puis voici de la vanille en poudre, du gingembre, poivre indien et des piments râpes. Que préférez vous? C'est un système chinois.[120]

---

[117] Ibid., 234.

[118] See Joan del Plato in *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*, 2010.

[119] Rachilde, 234-35. The French subject had a complex relationship with the Orient since the seventeenth century when accounts from the East became the flesh of fantastic narratives and political allegories. For two centuries, the Orient was at the crossroad of multiple evolving socio-political discourses, which reflected conflicting interests and changing political and social conditions in France and Europe. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it functioned as a negated trope for European domesticity and gender relations, a displaced sign for national liberty, and a civilizational foil in a self-Other dialectic within the politics of imperial domination

[120] Rachide, 39.

Éliante's playful command, "Je vous autorise à les mêler comme je me prepare moi meme" indicates not only her earlier exposure to other cultures located in hot climes, already a suggestion of being sensual, but also implies an experienced lover's erotic instruction in the art of engaging the senses. Léon 's flirtatious statement of submission, "J'accepte tout, bien entendu. Seulement il est abominable votre système chinois... Il y a de quoi faire flamber un sérail...y compris les eunuques !" unmistakably shows the prominent role harem erotics and aesthetics play in the contemporary expression of sexual desire. In the late-nineteenth-century- European imagination, the seraglio becomes a place of unbridled sexual appetite where the Sultan has unchecked access to jouissance.[121] The harem epitomizes both the libidinal energy felt by Léon and the forbidden sex fantasy thought permissible in the East.[122] Léon 's invocation of the harem sex scenario suggests a common French knowledge of a particular kind of Orientalist semiotics, rooted in the sexual and focused on transgression.[123] Léon 's blatant sexual commentary on the aphrodisiac effect of the spiced tea elevates the erotic tempo of the plot, inviting us to share in his heightened sexual attraction for Éliante. We see here how Léon 's rising desire for Éliante is discursively configured by means of both forbidden harem erotics and the pomp and wealth of the seraglio environment in ways that reinforce a specific kind of decadent aesthetic embodied in oriental regal wealth and sexual transgression. In the context of transgressive orientalist erotics, "le paradis de Mahomet" is precisely the imaginary world out of which

---

[121] Ibid., 40.

[122] See Emily Apter 1999; Mohja Kahf *1999.*

[123] See Long and Jones, "Towards a Definition of the Decadent Novel," 1961, 246.

the "cruche Parisienne" with whom Léon had spent nights in sensual pleasure, springs forth, the latter seeming to Léon to take the celestial form of an amphora, the object deemed by Éliante to be aesthetically-superior to mankind in its embodiment of the ancient ideal of beauty.[124]

La Jongleuse's ambiance of decadent sensuality along with harem fantasies of opulent domesticity are important geopolitical spaces that negotiate eroticized practices and concepts that lie beyond conventional European bourgeois existence while still articulating normative notions of European class and wealth.[125] Éliante's seduction rely on Léon 's late-nineteenth-century intellectual and aesthetic engagement with Oriental Otherness, for by this time, the French subject had developed a unique appreciation of the foreign by familiarity with alternate geographies and cultures to such a degree that, during this time, the East had become a complex referential metonymy of desire and transgression.[126] In this context, sexual desire merges with the pleasure of stepping outside of an European temporality, by means of metaphors, dialectics, and artifacts that refracted a polysemy of images involving fantasies of a romanticized Eastern past in a post-industrial age disillusioned with utilitarian values.[127] This mode of perception gives rise in *La*

---

[124] Rachilde 55.

[125] Lowe 1991, 2. Lise Lowe argues that in Flaubert's writings, the Orient figures as woman, as that which is Other, inaccessible.

[126] See James Eli Adams in a "Gentleman, Dandy, Priest: Manliness and Social authority in Pater's Aestheticism," 1999. According to Adams, Walter Pater's model of the aesthete unites qualities of the priest, dandy, and gentleman, stating that they all practice similar disciplinary control over their emotions in ways that confer prestige. This is important for my argument above because it shows how the appeal of aesthetic form and decadent sensuality are implicated in hierarchical cultures that grant social-class value on the dandy, the priest, and the gentleman equally.

Jongleuse to what I call "the Egyptological aesthetic" and to archeological narrative modalities in the expression of feminine sentimentality and eroticism.[128]

Éliante often articulates judgments and notions about Eastern meta worlds through the creative enactment of new decors and fashions inspired by Oriental ethnographies and informed by the prevalence of performativity and spectacle in French public life.[129] In a class culture where "la fantaisie" is the only thing "qui vaille," the East at this time was dominant as the provider of sensory experience par excellence and the source of a rich imagery that helped express subjectivity and stimulate social performativity.[130] The literature, visual productions, and even the scientific discourse[131] of this time period, show that the Orient had a uniform order of signification, which was understood within a romanticized, eroticized West-East relation and a socio-economic order of auratic colonial

[127]This was precisely the reference given by Timothy Mitchell in describing the way the European subject experienced life in the image-dominated European metropole in *Colonizing Egypt*, 1991.

[128] Isabelle Ebhardt, *Œuvres complètes : écrits sur le sable*, 1988-1990.

[129] Before explaining the mechanisms by which the Orient participates in the expression of this aesthetically-oriented decadent bourgeois subjectivity in the novel, it is important to recall the connection between visual appeal and class performance, and the meaning of the Orient for the late-nineteenth-century French subject. The importance of appeal in class performance is best explained by Pierre Bourdieu in *Distinction*, 1979 and Norbert Elias in *The Court Society*, 1983. They explain how the observance of beautiful forms in etiquette delineates social position and articulates class politics. The social dimension in La Jongleuse, in keeping with contemporary French novels, shows that in nineteenth-century France, sociality was incorporating a scopic dimension that made it more fit for display, as the French bourgeoisie interacted with new stimulating foreign geographies and cultures via spectacle and took care to pursue exhibitionistic practices in the public realm, such as la flânerie.

[130] This is the opening line of Paul-Eric de Fertzen, a young, rich, aesthete who surrounds himself with Oriental fetishes and objects in Rachilde's *Les Hors Nature*, 2015 [1897].

[131] See Emily Apter in *Continental Drift*, 1999, for an explanation of how Freudian psychoanalysis deploys the harem dialectic in its discourse on gender relations. Emily Apter talks about the role of psychoanalysis in the configuration of the Orient as a field of repressed sexual desire and a semiotic system for the projection of the psyche. See also Joan Delplato for an analysis of Orientalist feminine paintings.

commodities.[132] The Eastern art object at this time became an auratic product capable of invoking a distant place and time, an object of representation of an alternate spatio-temporality and, hence, a thing whose invocation of distance grants it economic value.[133] Foreign artifacts radiated this auratic quality in an age of increased representation[134]and a decadent bourgeois sensibility marked with a commitment to aesthetic form[135]. This erotic dimension traverses *La Jongleuse*'s discourse of attraction in its entirety, from characters' uniform attention to Eastern antiques and sentient sensory stimuli to the excavational narrative mode in which the stories of their acquisition are told, reflecting a nineteenth-century obsession with what Sasha Colby calls "the archeological modalities" of writing. These, I contend, convey the suspense and surprise inherent in the experience of erotic

---

[132]To understand the role of language in the creation, repression, and expression of desire, see Michel Foucault in *The archeology of knowledge*, 1982; See Joan Delplato in "Dress and Undress"in *Harem Histories*, 2010, 14. DelPlato examines the clothed and nude bodies in nineteenth-century European paintings of the harem, linking these images to the imperial politics and commerce which connects Western Europe to the Ottoman Empire. She argues that images of the harem ideologically reflected domestic issues of gendered space and gender politics. Delplato analyzes the erotics of the seraglio female that dominate artworks by Ingres, Maurin, Lewis, and Lane in the context of these artists' milieus. She argues that clothing and nudity elements in these paintings were carefully represented to persuade the viewer these European gazes into the harem were authentic.
See also Delplato in *From Slave Market to Paradise: The Harem Pictures of John Frederick Lewis and Their Traditions*, 1987 and *Multiple Wives*, 2002.

[133] See Walter Benjamin's concept of the "aura" in his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *lluminations*, 1969 [1935]. Benjamin does not talk about the aura in connection to class distinction, but he facilitates an understanding of the psychology of commodity consumption based on his analysis of the reception of the work of art; See also Colby 2006, 1107-09.

[134] See Mitchell in *Colonizing Egypt*, 1991, for the role representation plays in the life of the nineteenth-century European subject who became accustomed to apprehending the world as a picture, as a spectacle.

[135]See Dahab 1999, 2-7. See Dahab's concept of the Orient as emotional and aesthetic ideal for Gautier and others. The Orient occupies a central place in the cult of beauty professed by Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) in *L'orient: Voyages et Voyageurs*, 1877; See also Baudelaire in *Peintre de la Vie Moderne*, 1863; See *Mon Coeur Mis a Nu*, 1887; See also Gautier in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, 1834, 46-47. Gautier's argument that progress is felt stifling to individuality in a city environment opposed to the aesthetic ideal of the East is important here.

pleasure, for revealing things that had been previously hidden from view became an organizing plot logic and a seductive tactic as demonstrated by Missie's daring and sudden report to Léon that she had secretly seen Asian statues, doing "des choses drôles" (funny things) in Éliante's cabinet[136]. This voyeuristic confession uses the excavational metaphor as an erotic device of discovery, for the sanction against viewing the object of the Orient (which sensously calls to be uncovered) stresses Missie's transgression and her potential to become Léon 's desired object. Missie's playful confession of her trangressive act of voyeurism stresses the erotic dimension of her personality and registers her attempt to seduce Léon:

> Figurez-vous il y a des bonshommes plein un cabinet, des petits dieux chinois qui font des choses drôles, et aussi des crocodiles, des serpents, des araignées, des tas d'animaux fantastiques...puis elle a aussi des caisses pleines de robes, des belles robes extraordinaires. Naturellement, tout ça, ce n'est pas convenable pour une jeune fille.[137]

We see a parallel excavational dialectic when Mme Donalger excitedly digs up exotic outfits out of her large trinkets prior to engaging in the Eastern fashion show:

> Toute pâle, toute blanche, agenouillée devant les caisses, plongeant sans cesse les braset en retirant ses belles mains toujours chargées, Madame Donalger puisait toujours de nouvelles richesses. Elle retira un costume de Malaise, un sarong de laine verte et bourrue, ornée de perles noires, une écharpe d'un tissu noir et jaune.[138]

Léon is not immune to this manic desire to lay his hands on the objects of Éliante's trinkets and pull towards him the items of her voyages' bounty ; for when Éliante "ouvrit les caisses et les jeunes filles poussèrent des cris d'admiration," Léon "avec une maladroite

[136] Rachilde 76.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid., 235.

satisfaction d'animal qui ravage, tirait à lui des velours, des soies, des lainages bariolés lamés d'or et d'argent, des verroteries, des franges, des parures des coquillages ou de dents humains."[139] This scene is charged with spasmodic energy, reflecting a heightened feeling of pleasure upon physical contact with the exotic, for "ses mains devenant fiévreuses, il les plongeait sensuellement dans ce torrent de choses douces qui lui chatouillaient les pommes."[140] This suspenseful excavational mode of telling and showing turned into an aesthetic narrative device, eroticizing and valorizing that which is dug up or pulled out, and consequently appraised and possessed.

The avid desire to acquire these artifacts is born out of nineteenth-century archeology, a field which reflects intense European longing for Eastern culture and civilization. The archeological modalities adopted by Théophile Gautier and Gustave Flaubert in their mid-to-late-nineteenth century writings show how archeology was enmeshed with erotics, at times with plots that invoke the sanction against viewing the archeological object to further valorize it and deploy it as an emblem of desire, power, and social distinction.[141] Archeology was a field that stripped the ancient relic naked, already an act that had enticed legions of avid nineteenth-century European Egyptomaniacs to travel to Egypt in search of mummies and ancient relics. In chapter Seven, Missie tells Léon that Éliante "ressemblait à une momie[142]," a cautionary statement in the context of

---

[139] Ibid., 234.

[140] Ibid.

[141] See Théophile Gautier's *Le Roman de la Momie*, 1858 ; and Gustave Flaubert's *Salammbô*, 1883.

Éliante's dangerous attraction, an analogy which draws from the contemporary fascination with Egyptology and the erotically-charged necrophiliac figure of the mummy.[143] The presence of the ancient relic in the late-nineteenth-century bourgeois home shows how "archeology was embedded in the heart of an emerging modernity," not only in the European metropolis, but in domestic spaces and in the discourse of middle-class desire.[144]

Éliante's libidinal personality is enmeshed with the exotic and the decadent from the moment she reveals herself "réellement amoureuse de tout ce qui est beau," inflating the definition of beauty with "la volupté," seeing "le plaisir" as "une manière d'être."[145] She adds a fetish quality to her decadent philosophy by asserting to Léon "je voulais vous mener ici pour vous prouver que je n'ai pas besoin de la caresse humaine pour arriver au spasme," suggesting a sexual attachment to her ancient Tunisian amphora.[146] Indeed, she directs the entire sex plot towards the foreign commodities she either arranges in highly-appealing ways or manually handles and displays, thereby making them important players in her game of seduction. Her status of wealth facilitates her attraction by framing all her tête-à-tête encounters with Léon within the decadence of comfort and luxury, taking care

[142] See Colby 2006, 5-7. In "The Literary Archaeologies of Théophile Gautier," Sasha Colby explains the wrapping of the mummy's connection to narrative desire and to the modern person's conceptualization of the archeological object in connection to time.

.

[143] See Hawthorne in "Gautier's Roman de la Momie," 1993, 155- 219. Likening Mme Donalger to a mummy in this context is a clear allusion to her gradual psychic strip-tease in addition to being well-preserved for her age just like the enticing figure of Gautier's mummy.

[144] Colby 2006, 2. Sasha Colby points to the archeological style that governed Gautier's literary writings, being greatly influenced by Egyptology and Egyptomania, and adopting an excavational style in his narrative mode.

[145] Rachilde 49.

[146] Ibid.

to remind him, not only of her capacity to reach orgasm by means of beautiful objects, but of her power to acquire rare exotic things.

In fact, wealth's connection to seduction scenarios lies in the nature of eroticism itself, being a transfer of libidinal energy from the body onto symbolic objects, letting pretty things convey sexual desire via formal aesthetics.[147] Precious objects become, at times, fused with Éliante's embodied performance of attraction, replacing the love speech that would otherwise ensue. This dynamic was noted by Léon while sipping the spicy tea Mme Donalger served, for she stopped speaking and instead, elle "jouait avec de petits ustensiles de vermeil, des salières microscopiques ornées de cabochons précieux, qui rutilait sous des doigts pâles et elle puisait là-dedans des poudres obscures comme des cendres." [148] Mme Donalger's movements seem ritualistic as suggested by words like "puisait" (dig up), and "poudres obscures comme des cendres" (black ash-like powder), invoking again the excavational metaphor of digging up the ancient relic of which I spoke earlier, also recalling the image of cremation rituals involving ashes.[149]

George Bataille's theory or eroticism and the fetish helps explain how late-nineteenth-century commodities acquire a quasi-mystical aura of attraction and why their erotic appeal is conveyed by decadent aestheticism[150]. Bataille was not concerned with

---

[147] Both Bataille and Weber speak of eroticism as sublimation of the sexual impulse, a sort of intellectual rechanneling of the animal energies of sexuality, involving symbolism. Eroticism and the fetish are tightly linked, as eroticism always involves the transfer of sexual energy from the body into objects.

[148] Rachilde 39-40.

[149] Ibid., 40.

commodity consumption in particular, but his theory on the fetish explores a commonality between eroticism, religious experience, and the ritualistic object involved in prayer, thereby showing exotic commodities' connection to decadent sensuality (the commodity). He contends that eroticism and the ecstasy of religious experience are similar in that they both involve charisma, that is "divine gift," the ability to transcend immediate experience by assigning mystical qualities to objects (ritualistic symbols). This is akin, in my view, to how the exotic artifact transports the French bourgeois subject to Oriental meta-worlds and temporalities, leading me to conclude that nineteenth-century French decadent perception and consumption of exotic commodities enabled the bourgeois subject to have a charismatic experience. For Bataille, religious ecstasy and the inner experience of eroticism are parallel, attainable by similar means.

The key to understanding the value of antique Oriental objects for the elite European lies in examining the aestheticism of Egyptomania and the role it played in nineteenth-century bourgeois perception. The commodity fetish and sexual perversion are exemplified by Éliante's sexual attraction to her anthropomorphized Tunisian amphora, which is also symptomatic of the period's European trend of experiencing the past through traveling East and getting hold of the ancient relic.[151] This latter represents a quintessential experience of the exotic East where the past still lives in the present in the antique object.

[150] J. L Austen, "Doing Things with Words," 1980. The dynamic by which performativity takes place is that of linguistic enunciation.

[151] See David Lowe 1983. Revisiting how Orientalism was incorporated historically into bourgeois experience helps us understand how reliving the past became fundamental to curing a nineteenth-century bourgeois disillusionment with modernity in Europe.

The commodity fetish in *La Jongleuse* directs most of the action, conveying Éliante's erotic charge at all times while enticing Léon who clearly grasps the sexual tension communicated by things. We saw how Éliante orchestrates her seduction by means of directing Léon 's attention to the fancy things with which she toys during their home encounters. In each scene, there is a heightened consciousness of the beautiful objects she has hoarded from her travels to the East, each adopting an eroticized presence. Equally important in this process is Éliante's use of the phantasmagoric aspect of her possessions to portray herself as a sensual woman of class. Walter Benjamin emphasizes the place of abstraction in dealing with the commodity, which has been disconnected from its real value and the labor that was involved in producing it, thus becoming an element through which society understands itself as culture. We see this precisely when Éliante defines herself through her commodities unravelling her own individual culture through the object of the Orient.[152]

Perhaps the narrative most reflective of Éliante's obsession with Oriental commodities is when she tells Léon of her past purchasing sprees with her late husband. Here, the incapacity of her ship's cabin to contain the phantasmagoria of wild, colorful, and rare artefacts collected during her exotic voyages is mistakenly mentioned to elevate her commodity-consumer status. In this extradiegetic narrative, Éliante's ravenous commodity consumption and her fetish attachment to objects connotes her unbridled sexual appetite, and works to contextualize desire within a distant geography. Here the focus on

[152] See Walter Benjamin in *The Arcades Project,*1969, 669. The fetishized commodity has a socially-dominant character; society itself adopts a fetish character as it understands itself through the commodities it produces.

possessions, the foreign, and the desire generated by both, is embedded in Éliante's practice of class.

> Et chaque fois qu'on descendait par terre on revenait chargé d'un butin fantastique : des idoles, des peaux de bêtes, des meubles rares, des verroteries ou des pierres très précieuses, des armes empoisonnées, des fruits fabuleux, des fleurs sauvages. On entassait cela chez moi sans ordre.[153]

Theodor W. Adorno argues that the fetish nature of the art's object becomes negated once its value, that is its essential quality as art object to be enjoyed in itself, has shifted into exchange value through social valuation. Here, the Oriental commodity is established as a relic of high monetary value, "exchange value," which is a social valuation that, according to Adorno, violates its fetish character, its real art characteristic, its purposelessness. I contend, and as shown by Éliante's relationship to her exotic artifacts, that this happens only after the commodity has established its fetish character. This means that its exchange value is contingent on its previous fetishized status as an object removed from its original purpose.[154] This illustrates how antiques move from being mundane objects of daily use to becoming over time auratic objects fetishized independently from the purpose of their making. As prized antiques, they evolve once more into tokens of class, that is into objects with a real "exchange value," delivering a socio-economic meaning that goes beyond their aesthetic (taste quality) worth.

In keeping with the excavational narrative modality of exoticism, Éliante recounts the story of digging up the Tunisian amphora from "les fouilles" as a miracle.[155] Her

---

[153] Rachilde 108.

[155] Rachilde 47.

perception of "le vase" shifts from being "immortel," and "miraculeux," a supernatural/spiritual entity defying the ravages of time and space, to a feminine other, a slave of unmistaken "volupté" saved by Éliante's superior European aesthetic judgment, which recognized its value upon discovery.[156] The fetish here participates in a complex system of socio-economic and cultural signs, simultaneously signifying wealth, taste, erotics, and travel. The past temporality of the antique object is an important geopolitical modality that increases the pleasure factor by emphasizing distance. This past temporality figures in Éliante's interest in narrating the history of her acquired exotic objects in ways that fuse economic value with desire. She simultaneously elevates her Tunisian amphora to the status of favorite concubine and divinity, endearing it to the point of adoration, probing into its past in search for historic and civilizational depth.[157] There is a marked decadent aestheticism in Éliante's passionate description of the vase, invoking a mystic quality reminiscent of Bataille's theory of eroticism. Éliante's view of this ancient vase reveals a complex view of art in connection to love, time, and gender identity, but more importantly, it reveals an understanding of desire as that which can be embodied in ancient appealing objects, monetarily acquired, historicized, and discursively situated in the ancient Orient.

---

[156] Ibid.

[157] To fully grasp the way Egyptomonia held a grip on the bourgeois imagination of this time, it is important to look at the ways in which literature projected the ancient and how anxiety with modernity's intrusion shaped a new decadent aesthetic in literature and the arts of this time period. The decadent aesthetic translated the bourgeois concern with the passage of time as obsession with the ancient relic. As examples of literary Egyptomania, Chateaubriand and Lamartine published travelogues, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem and Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages, pendant un voyage en orient*, 1832-1833 ; Gérardde Nerval, *Voyage en Orient*, 1852. Maxime du Camp and Gustave Flaubert toured Egypt on Camp's government commissioned mission, taking calotypes of ancient Egyptian monuments.

> Il est très vieux, Il a des siècles, il est resté jeune parce qu'il n'a jamais crié son secret à personne. (Elle vient d'enrouler ses bras noirs autour du col de l'amphore.) Regardez bien, et tâchez de voir un moment...il n'ira plus loin car il atteint la perfection, il n'augmentera, ni diminuera, il est immuablement de la beauté. Ah, je veux que vous sachiez, au moins cinq minutes, vous extasier, de la bonne façon et sur quelque chose d'immortel. Vous ne riez plus ? Il vous fait peur, il vous fait honte ! Je savais bien moi que vous êtes très intelligent...parce que la volupté vous fait pâlir. Ce vase miraculeux est pâle de la volupté d'être lui-même...on me l'a vendu à Tunis comme on m'aurait vendu un esclave. Il était découvert dans les fouilles...les fouilles ? Je l'ignore.[158]

This extensive passage shows how Éliante replicates the emotive reaction of Théophile Gautier's iconic Egyptomaniac characters who are often shown "transfixed before objects" that have a talismanic quality.[159] The vase seems to come to life, to have a throbbing heart and a soul which inhabits it: "C'est à croire, quand la lumière le transperce obliquement, qu'une âme l'habite, que brûle un coeur dans cette urne d'albâtre?"[160] This recalls, in Théophile Gautier's L*e Roman de La Momie* (1857), the way Lord Evandale and the guide, Rumphius think of the newly discovered mummy whom the German doctor unwrapped in erotic anticipation, breathing life into her as they read her story of antemortem romance they found inscribed in the ancient parchment they dug out from its tomb. Éliante's rendition of the amphora also mirrors her internalization of the auratic effect of ancient objects as well as their ability to convey economic value by means of their rich

---

[158] Rachilde 47.

[159] Epstein 7. Gustave Flaubert was among the French writers of his time who were disturbed by modernity's encroachment onto history; Théophile Gautier wrote profusely on ancient Egypt and on Egyptological subjects, *Une nuit de Cléopâtre*, 1838, *Le Pied de Momie*, 1840, and *Le Roman de la Momie*, 1857. His texts were written based on archeological findings, and hence had minute descriptions of ancient sites, mixing truth with fantasy. His characters were often mesmerized by old relics and ancient tombs and reflected a new obsession with the aesthetic of decay.

[160] Rachilde 47.

temporality.[161] Walter Benjamin's concept of the aura holds the key to our understanding of the Orient's magnetic pull on bourgeois consciousness, and the subsequent conceptual conversion of the Oriental artifact into class value. The way the aura operates on the psyche, enabling a perceptual weaving of past temporality with the object represented, justifies decadent aestheticism's mystic valorization of the ancient relic, and its respective privileging of the aesthetic of decay and death. The French subject's ability to perceive the object's aura elevated the ancient artifact and the exotic aesthetic to a place of distinction, as the turn-of-the-century French individual learned to appreciate it as a sign representative of a "distant" mode of life accessible (potentially-dug out) through wealth and connections. Note here that this mode of perception became itself a function of class privilege, exclusively verbalized in the decadent novel by individuals of wealth and distinction. For Benjamin, the aura is:

> A strange weave of space and time: the unique appearance or semblance of distance, no matter how close it may be. While at rest on a summer's noon, to trace a range of mountain on the horizon, or a branch that throws its shadow on the observer, until the moment or the hour become part of their appearance – this is what it means to breathe the aura of those mountains, that branch. Now, to bring things closer to us or rather to the masses, is just as passionate an inclination in our day as the overcoming of whatever is unique in every situation by means of its reproduction. Every day the need to possess the object in close-up in the form of a picture, or rather a copy, becomes more imperative.[162]

---

[161] following Marx (fetishism of commodities as false consciousness) and Freud (the fetish as spurious, surrogate object of desire), deduced from the Latin fa cere neither charm nor beauty but rather the degraded simulacrum or false representation of things sacred, beautiful, or enchanting.

[162] See Walter Benjamin 1968, 217-52.

Éliante's vase also closely fits Marx's conception of the fetish, being "a socioeconomic hieroglyph" that delivers value beyond its utility, communicating an entire history of travel, excavation, and market acquisition, which Éliante proudly recounts as a seductive strategy to communicate her possession of sensual sentimentality and wealth.[163] Éliante's conception of her ancient Tunisian vase and her unequivocal decadent view of it illustrate the "archeological modalities" of literary writings for which Théophile Gautier was known, and which contains basic archeological motifs that became modular for subsequent "literary-archeological approaches," including the one used by Rachilde here.[164] As noted above, Éliante's excavated vase has precedents in Gautier's fiction, which projects a world that is "increasingly excavated" and which "vacillate between decadent aesthetic fantasy and historical exactitude."[165] The aesthetic of ancient history exemplified by the antique object reflects Orientalism's therapeutic role in an age of encroaching modernity and pragmatism. The antique object derives monetary value from its aura, which is contingent on a new bourgeois perception of time and space and the object's invocation of authenticity. Hence, Orientalism, through the decadent aesthetic, functions as a new expression of class value, which operates in an increasingly sensuous, performative culture of distinction, dependent on a keen sensibility and a passionate obsession with the Eastern past.

---

[163] Karl Marx, *Capital*, 1932 [1867], 85.

[164] Colby 2.

[165] Ibid.

Léon is often left destabilized by Éliante's eccentric behavior as she manipulates things vested with erotic energy. He immensely enjoys the thrill of uncertainty this occasions, yet he becomes gradually stripped of his sexual dominance as a male.[166] We get the sense that Léon gradually loses his mental edge, as he drifts into Éliante's decadent world. Indeed, "Cet esprit de femme, pimenté comme une liqueur de ces îles chaudes dont elle rêvait tout haut, l'amusait énormément," though like the mind-clouding liquor of Eastern isles, it traps him in the sensual, emotional plane, which gradually helps dissipate his self-possession.[167] In the process of losing himself to Éliante, he develops a fetish relationship to the objects she manipulates to communicate her erotic energy,[168] therefore becoming entangled in an unequal gender dynamic where Éliante remains sexually and economically privileged.

One should not lose sight of how this exotic/erotic dynamic takes place within Éliante's established French elite class status, which had enabled her to deploy the erotic charge of the Oriental commodity from the beginning. Éliante's Frenchness and class authority allow her to confidently navigate and master the sensorial world of bourgeois taste, which she infuses with the exotic. Her racial status as white is critical to the

---

[166] See Jean Baudrillard 1980. In *De La Seduction*, he lays out the basic seduction scenario and the psychic elements that render a love conquest successful, showing how they, all relate to destabilizing the state of mind of the seduced. This happens through a process of power reversal involving the seduced and seduce involving uncertaintry and destabilization.

[167] Rachilde 103.

[168] See Raphael Falco 2007. Falco argues that both Bataille and Weber speak of eroticism as sublimation of the sexual impulse, a sort of intellectual channeling of the animal energies of sexuality, involving symbolism. Eroticism and the fetish are tightly linked, as eroticism always involves the transfer of sexual energy into objects.; See also Bataille 1957, 144. Eroticism has been compared to religiosity, ecstasy, and charisma by Bataille.

transgressive, mystical, and erotic semantics of her behavior, further articulating her appropriation of the Eastern symbol. Initially, her French elite position is reinforced by her conservative middle-class social environment of the ball and the ordinary French bourgeois taste of her living room:

> Il trouva chez elle un étonnant salon bourgeois...une maison ordinaire, des plantes vertes d'allures ordinaires, des tentures ordinaires venues du Louvre, une bonne qui conservait l'accent de son pays, et, dans ce salon, au premier étage, des gens quelconques ; un vieux monsieur à favoris blancs ressemblant à un diplomate pour casino, deux dames très grosses, l'une d'elles nimbée d'un chapeau orné d'une chouette.[169]

A few pages later, we note how Éliante's taste, though initially ordinarily French and elite as illustrated by the "salon bourgeois" of the "premier étage" with its "plantes vertes d'allures ordinaires, des tentures ordinaires venues du Louvre," and the elderly man whose attire makes him resemble a diplomat, quickly yields to her foreign aesthetic predilections.[170] Her exoticism is revealed once she allows Léon into her boudoir[171],

---

[169] Rachilde 61.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Le boudoir started figuring in French fiction since the eighteenth century as a space that signify interiority, social mobility, and desire. In a novel like *Le paysan parvenu*, 1734–35, by Pierre Carlet de Marivaux, the paysan, Jacob, discovers passion through his impermissible presence in his mistress's bedroom and the encounter with the inflamed gaze of the lady at her toilette, a plot device that highlights the social class gulf between them, and one greatly similar to Éliante and Leon's situation; The boudoir equally figures in the libertine novel, *Les égarements du cœur et de l'esprit*, 1735–38, where Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon lets his characters develop in highly social settings (in sitting rooms and dining rooms). Like the scenario of *La Jongleuse*, the aristocratic salon becomes an enclosed space for couples in their liminal moments of romance, highly suggestive of sexuality and greatly opportune for their tête-à-tête's seduction: in *Les égarements du cœur et de l'esprit,* Meilcour's first rendezvous with his new mistress is framed within lush and erotically-charged furniture items. Like Éliante's salon and boudoir in *La Jongleuse*, the canapé and armchair become the props of desire for the romantic occasion. These aristocratic interiors, namely boudoirs and dressing rooms reappear in the *Les liaisons dangereuses*, 1782, as spaces exclusively occupied by manipulative libertines in the text. Here the interiors are intimate spaces that reveal the psychological dimension of characters.

gradually stripping her psyche naked to his view, making this revelation a function of her sex appeal. Considering the aesthetic decorative detail of her living room and the diplomat analogy used to describe her society, the exotic aesthetic of her home interiors reaffirms her social-class position instead of undermining it; because it is subordinated to her already-established bourgeois taste.

Éliante's French elite identity is further articulated by her staged performances and the abundance of props and costumes these enactments require. Her consumption goes hand in hand with her leisurely theatrics, as the latter constitutes an act of cultural crossdressing, a literal appropriation of Oriental culture enabled by objects, including theatrical attire. Katherine Gantz notes that consumption in the novel encompasses her purchasing of foreign phantasmagoria and the reception of her performances by an audience used to consuming the exotic, implying Éliante's premeditated intention to dazzle her French viewers. She rightfully argues that in *La Jongleuse*, "the pleasures of the exotic depend upon the principle of consumption" and that "Éliante's passion for juggling...finds its power not from the simple mastery of this curious skill she acquired during her travels in Java, but from her capacity to exhibit it in front of a French audience."[172] Éliante is informed by French bourgeois tastes and predilections even when removed from France, taking care to acquire circus-like skills that can potentially increase her seductive power and prestige within elite Parisian circles. Éliante's juggling derives value from its

[172] Gantz 946.

geographical displacement from Java, and her acquisition of the skill as a French woman establishes that act as a souvenir (a kinetic artifact) alive in her performance.

In keeping with transgressive erotics, the Orient also functions as a tool for resisting conventional gender roles with Éliante manipulating its sign in a way that keeps her in charge, not only of the game of seduction, but of her own sexuality. She does this by projecting her sexual energies onto exotic things instead of Léon himself, an act which takes its extreme form when she sexually objectifies the Tunisian amphora to Léon 's shock. At times, she sees it as an androgynous being endowed with a celestial allure, a demi-god of divine powers she keeps on a "socle," and embraces in venerating passion, at other times, it occupies the seraglio status of a prized concubine, a sexualized feminine other acquired from a distant land. Appropriating the sign of the East and fetishizing its valuable artifact is what enables Éliante to resist the objectifying heteronormative male-female bourgeois gender dynamic of the period. This shows how class, a privileging social marker par excellence, can deploy, a system of erotics, as a tool for reversing gender roles.[173] Éliante's sex appeal might initially seem self-evident in the attraction plot of *La Jongleuse*, but it remains contingent on the phantasmagoric world afforded by the French colonies.[174]

[173] This exact class and gender dynamic occurs in Rachilde's other novel, *Monsieur Venus*, with Raoual de Vénérande exploiting the sexual favors of Jacques Silvert by means of her wealth. This novel is an explicit narrative of gender reversal with a clear switching of roles between Raoul and Jacues Silvert, a poor effeminate florist sexually exploited by Raoul. In order to escape the ennui and malaise of her conventional upper-class life, she must violate and go beyond social class decorum, gender roles, and the morality-bound sexual relations.

[174] See Edward Said's postcolonial argument in "Jane Austen's Empire" in *Culture and Imperialism*, 1993.

Indeed, her attraction is never told outside of her elite social status, as this latter provides the very conditions of possibility for her possession of exotic charms and commodities.[175]

We have seen how the appeal of the antique object emanates from its aesthetic of decay and death, and from its capacity to invoke a past temporality and distant geography in the present, turning it into an auratic object of desire. The Egyptian/Eastern excavational dialectic explained earlier corroborates this desire effect, because it references the antique object's simultaneous invocation of life and death, contributing to its mystical talismanic quality. This excavational narrative modality that the ancient object inspires finds resonance in the *femme fatale* figure, precisely in how this modern female archetype deploys seduction via aesthetics that use an imagery of life and death. The decadent aesthetics of the *femme fatale* resemble those employed in the sketching of *la momie,* as both figures enhance desire through a deliberate blending of beauty with grotesquery, love with terror, joy with melancholy, emphasizing a kind of morbid attraction that has destabilizing outcomes on men.[176] At times, Éliante's attraction is eerily unsettling to Léon, simultaneously recalling femininity's charms and death, making her a perfect *femme fatale* figure.[177] Éliante's morbidity finds ultimate form in her final performative act of suicide,

---

[175] See Raoule de Vénérande in *Monsieur Vénus*, 1884; see also the aristocrat Des Esseintes in Huysman's *A Rebours*, 1884; and Paul-Eric de Fertzen in *Les Hors Nature*, 1897. The exotic constitutes a key aesthetic in the experience of desire and the practice and expression of Éliante's class distinction, making her psychological portrait fit the decadent character type who lives in an environment of luxury and comfort and pays excessive attention to beautiful objects.

[176] A similar type of unsettling erotics is found in Gustave Flaubert's sexual attraction to Kuchuk Hanem in *Correspondance*, 1850-1854.

[177] See Charles Baudelaire's poem, "Les Métamorphoses du Vampire" in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 1857.

mixing entertainment with shock, achieving death through colorful vibrant spectacle. In fact, her attraction appears morbid from the beginning of the novel when Léon first lays eyes on her at the ball, suggesting that Éliante's seduction greatly depends on her unsettling macabre appearance. On first seeing her descend the steps, she has the allure of a "veuve inconsolable,"[178]appearing stiff, artificial, and deathly, qualities that are opposed to that which is feminine and sexually-enticing.

> Elle quittait la salle flambante, emportant sa nuit, toute drapée d'une ombre épaisse, d'un mystère d'apparence impénétrable montant jusqu'au cou et lui serrant la gorge à l'étrangler...l'air pas jeune, car elle demeurait grave, et ce qui sortait de son enveloppe funèbre semblait très artificiel...Ainsi coiffée d'une coiffure étroite posée sur de minces oreilles rouges qui paraissaient vraiment saigner sous le poids d'un casque coupant, elle était plus blanche de son fard qu'aucune autre femme fardée.[179]

This passage provides the most terrifying portrait of Éliante. here, she appears more threatening than seductive, seeming as inaccessible to the male glance as she is mysterious; her sartorial style is artificial and unrevealing, wearing a long black dress and a mantle that clutches her throat to the point of strangulation; her face is painted pale with ears appearing to bleed under the weight of a cutting helmet; her mantle "ondulait, formant les mêmes cercles noires que l'on voit se former dans une eau profonde, le soir, après la chute d'un corps,"[180] associating the undulating movements of her mantle with those of water after the fall of a corpse. It is not until she dons her Oriental "echarpe violente" that we sense her budding sensuality underneath her forbidding layer of mourning and morbidity. Indeed, the

[178] Rachilde 55.

[179] Ibid., 25-26.

[180] Ibid.

menacing, mysterious aspect of Éliante augments the effect of her later sensual nature and participates in establishing her *femme fatale* character all the more.

The abundance of exotic Oriental motifs in *La Jongleuse*, in the context of love and social distinction, shows the prominent place occupied by class in the expression of French desire. The colonial relationship of tutelage binding Egypt with France at the turn-of-the-century was sustained to a large degree by Egyptian nationalist civility discourses. The latter, in their emphasis on native character reform and the outer forms of distinction recycled French social and linguistic models, especially that Egypt recognized itself as a desired exotic Other in them. French colonial influence in Egypt in the 1826-1950 period operated to a large degree through hegemonic class values and practices as illustrated by the many native discourses of taste and their fusion with national progress.

CHAPTER III

Aesthetic Ideology in the Discourses of al-Muwaylihi, Sanu', and Kamil: Modern National Identity or European-Class Kinship?

At the turn of the century, Egypt's (post)colonial politics were becoming significantly aestheticized, becoming one with the affections, inclinations, sensibilities, and aspirations of the upper and middle-class Egyptian. National reform literature, in particular, conveys Egyptians' explicit concern to improve the status quo through the very values and principles upheld by the nation state whereby politics are expressed through the aesthetic ideology of bourgeois citizenship. Despite the many indigenous contestations for the maintenance of authenticity, national politics reflect a new order of European bourgeois subjectivity whereby the Egyptian individual is "autonomously coerced"[181] by state discourses as they entertain the feeling of being self-governed as modern subjects. Everywhere in national literary productions, Egyptians are groomed for the practice of a new model of Egyptianness whereby political, literary, and journalistic discourses impart the notion that independence from Britain will grant Egyptians free will--a free will put into the collective service of the Egyptian nation as they live out and perform their individuality within the national collectivity. In this process, the Egyptian middle-class

[181] I am using the phrase "autonomously coerced" to refer to the mechanism by which the hegemony of national ideology works, creating the impression of living life autonomously and in accordance with the citizen's subjective affections and desires while the latter are regulated by coercive state laws and principles.

subject unconsciously anchors her/his aspirations and affections to their own embodied existence instead of the state while they entertain the feeling of serving the nation. So, they find in elite and bourgeois class identity an adequate vehicle for the articulation of their feelings and sensibilities---feelings attached to the *bien-être* (a sense of well-being) of the citizen and the future of the nation. This does not negate the multiple nationalist strategies and ideologies used to counter Western hegemony, to affirm one's cultural indigeneity, and to communicate cultural integrity to Europe as authentic Egyptians, however, through the aesthetic ideology of Egyptian politics, nationalist reformist agendas fuse with the class goals and desires of the Egyptian upper-and-middle-class subject, subordinating their identity to the aesthetic forms of European bourgeois culture that is everywhere equated with modern civility.[182] The result is the elaboration of a national political discourse where progress is measured and motivated by adherence to European taste, and in fact, the ubiquity of aesthetic form is such that an anti-colonial writer like Mohamed al-Muwaylihi assesses, in his fiction, the nation's state of affairs through the affections, habits, and beliefs of the Egyptian citizen, turning his/her failure to adhere to European bourgeois taste as a yardstick of national reform's success in general.

In Egypt's struggle for national independence, class hegemony becomes the flesh of national politics, which nurtures class-oriented tastes and affections along with feelings of collective belonging to the state. This aesthetic-based subjectivity consolidates discursive practices in nationalist reform literature that, at times, compromise Egypt's fight

[182] The material discussed in this paragraph is also covered in Pollard's chapter, "Table Talk: The Home Economics of Nationhood," in *Nurturing the Nation*, 139-65. Men were expected to benefit from what they learned in the home and apply their lessons in the public realm.

for colonial independence from Britain, such as engaging in negative Egyptian ethnographies and in self-dialectics of racial Othering when critiquing the national status-quo. On the other hand, the adoption of European class practices, albeit springs from state and colonial agendas, prove to be a resourceful cultural and symbolic capital that Francophone intellectuals like Mustapha Kamil and Ya'qub Sanu' put to use in cultivating European friendships and allies. This illustrates that hegemonic practices are not always autonomously coerced nor always counterproductive to the anti-colonial struggle: Kamil and Sanu''s participation in European class forms springs from their double Arab-Francophone (post)colonial backgrounds, their education in Enlightenment logics and principles, the urban spaces and social and institutional structures of modernity, and the rhetorical practices of the nation state. And while their assimilation of Western bourgeois culture was a pervasive byproduct of French and British coloniality, their deliberate practice of European taste in their foreign politics and strategic switching of cultural codes from native Egyptian to Franco-European ones attest to their self-conscious enactment of their aestheticized identities as representatives of Egyptian nationalism. On the other hand, it highlights their insight into the workings of modern bourgeois identity as an aesthetically-appealing device, making use of linguistic, social, and moral dispositions that ensure their visibility within European society. Their intricate and complex discursive practices are constant attempts to present new models of subjectivity for an Egypt in the process of rebuilding, and in striving to win the support of Europe for national independence, they rely on the habitus as a form of capital. In this, Sanu' and Kamil, especially prove resourceful, and though their discourses are hegemonic in the sense that

they are aesthetically-based and class-oriented, their mode of foreign diplomacy reveals a conscious deployment of an aesthetic-based subjectivity that they strive to fashion after Egyptian indigenous models.

The ubiquity of European moral taste in urban elite and middle-class Egypt in early-twentieth-century is such that nationalists and literati all converge in articulating a modular national civic identity through the terms of European class. This is showcased by al-Muwaylihi's serial novel, *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* (1898-1903) to a great extent, treating Western aesthetic practices as a measure of national civility and progress. European taste is not revealed problematic to the dramatist, journalist, and caricaturist Ya'qub Sanu' until the latter phase of his life when he shows a remarkable evolution in his national politics from a whole-sale adoption of European identity aesthetics and molieresque rhetoric to a visual embodiment of the Oriental sign. The nationalist play *Mulyir Misr wa ma Yuqasih* mirrors Ya'qub Sanu''s early Molieresque self-image and social politics, taking the French dramatist Moliere as a rhetorical exemplar and modular social catalyst in his staged nationalist discourse. This French aesthetic parallelism changes with Sanu''s later embraces of the Eastern sartorial sign of the Arab sheikh, a political and cultural gesture that strays far from the self-Orientalizing politics of his early reform book of Italian poems, L'*Arabo Anziano* (1869). This signals his changed perception of national identity in relation to the sartorial sign and a consequential abandonment of the European suit in favor of the ethnic *galabiya* worn by provincial Egyptians as he advocates for Islam abroad. Mustapha Kamil's posthumous refined character exemplarity for the class of *effendiya* as the ultimate anti-colonial intellectual is greatly echoed in his patriotic discourse,

persistently taking bourgeois form, a fact equally mirrored in his dandy appearance. It is clear from his children's educational pedagogy in the journal, *al-Madrasa*, that, for him, the future of Egyptian state rests on bringing up children with the aesthetic sensibilities of the bourgeois citizen even as he supports the continuum of conservative Muslim gender norms. The seductive rhetoric with which he addresses his French audience highlights his astute implementation of class affections and sensibilities within the framework of his Egyptian nationalism as illustrated by his French epistolary writings to Juliette Adam in *Lettres Egyptiennes* (1895-1908). These texts are uniformly governed by a future vision of a progressive autonomous Egypt primarily foregrounded by appeals to European class taste whereby a nationalist discourse of native authenticity merges with a concern to meet the aesthetic and moral standards of modern Europe, thereby using taste as a parameter and destination that culminates in the expression of a (post)colonial Egyptian identity embraced as modern. This does not deny the cultural complexity of the Egyptian (post)colonial intellectual, being a composite identity that both differs from and resembles its European counterpart, which lives both within Egypt and right across the Mediterranean. This cultural complexity often emerges when the (post)colonial subject feels the urge to validate their claims to Egyptian state sovereignty, articulating their place in modern civility as authentic Egyptians through the terms of European moral taste. Al-Muwaylihi, Sanu', and Kamil fit this model, and while they have different personalities and strategies, their approaches are embedded within normalized upper-and-middle-class subjective paradigms. To grasp the ubiquity of the aesthetic and the way it organizes social-power relations in Egyptian (post)colonial discourses, I will illustrate how in *Hadith Isa Ibn*

Hisham, al-Muwaylihi's national reformist attempt, is ultimately an expression of class civility; Mustapha Kamil's poetics of seduction in *Lettres Egyptiennes* parallel the aesthetic ideology of his patriotic children's journal, *al-Madrasa* where his educational pedagogy prescriptively fuses the bourgeois habitus with the utopian moralism of the nation state; Sanu''s case is the most intriguing, moving from an early molieresque, satirical, and secular politics into a visual embodiment of the Oriental sign of the Muslim sheikh in the latter phase of his life, the sheikh being a unitary representative trope of Arab indigeneity and Islam. The three intellectuals converge in their appeal to bourgeois-class sensibilities in ways that reflect the influence of Francophone education and the institutions of the nation state on their reform logics. Their (post)colonial cultural and social identities are syncretic[183], which facilitates their easy navigation in and out of Western culture, adopting the terms of European moral taste in the aesthetically-bounded public sphere of the nation-state, in foreign politics, and in advocating a new nationalist subjectivity fit for a modern Egypt.

Kamil and Sanu' switch cultural and social codes as gestures of civilizational equivalence with Europe while advocating for Egypt's right to independence from Britain. Maneuvering in and out of Western social norms reveals their strategic detachment from Western identity and a utilitarian deployment of French politics. But social-class sociologists highlight the difficulty of simulating social distinction, emphasizing the rigidity and exclusivity of certain class practices and dispositions. The latter cannot be the

[183] See Karen L. King 2001, 461-479.

product of pure emulation and must be nurtured as habitus-practices, that is social and cultural dispositions that grow out of certain institutions and class environments. This adds an extra layer to the social identity of the Egyptian (post)colonial intellectual who practices European class forms with the ease of class disposition while remaining conscious of distinction's utility outside of the national indigenous environment. The uniqueness of Egypt lies in its crossroads' geographic and cultural position at the turn-of-the-century, uniting Western and Eastern influences that perfectly manifest at the level of the middle-class Egyptian's habitus---a habitus tailored to Egypt's intellectual strife for bourgeois Egyptianness. Perhaps at the level of visual identity performance, the *effendi tarboush* (red fez hat) and suit sartorial combination best reflects this process, the *tarboush* constituting the Arab/Eastern element that crowns that appearance, seeming to persistently articulate indigenous Arabness as it affirms participation in bourgeois modernity through its complicity with the Western suit. I explained in Chapter two how the uniqueness of Egypt lies in its lyrical place in the imaginary of the Western subject of modernity in addition to its strategic position on the map, providing a short route to India, factors that implicated it with the West for two centuries, but the Egyptian scholar should take note of its first khedive's infatuation with European modernity and the many educational and institutional programs he spearheaded, recognizing the role of education in the rebuilding of Egypt, the very field (le champs) where class distinction is nurtured and legitimized. So Egypt was, in fact, exposed to modernity and its economic, social, and cultural ethos since the mid-nineteenth-century--an ethos, like the politics of the nation-state, that is aesthetically oriented, creating a necessary link between subjective judgments and feelings, the

epistemological and moral principles of modernity, and the duties of citizenship. Egypt's unique position in the Middle-East lies in its early participation in European modernity through its early involvement in European economic and social phenomena. Its booming cotton-based economy attracted a diverse European population of financiers, bankers, and traders; and its relatively-liberal press drew the literary elite from Syria into launching new publishing houses, which encouraged the circulation of newspapers and magazines and introduced modern advertising to Egypt's urban centers. These modern changes promoted the aesthetic ideology of the nation state, finding in the new capitalist lifestyles and in the ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity, a concrete field for celebrating modernity's universalizing syncretism. As mentioned above, modernity reached Egypt through the enthusiasm of its Ottoman-appointed governor, Mohamed Ali (1769-1849) as early as 1798 when Napoleon Bonaparte led his Scientific Expedition to Egypt (1798-1801). After the French left the country, he appointed himself khedive of Egypt, and went about modernizing the country the moment he became independent from the Ottoman seat of power in Constantinople. So, he initiated his ruling dynasty and implemented a series of reforms, like sending the first missions of Egyptian students to France, putting forward a new agricultural system, industrialization, and importing technologies from Europe. He also introduced cotton as a cash crop to Egypt, which involved it in the world market, and during the mid-nineteenth century, Egypt saw a marked urbanization in Cairo and Alexandria, which became important meditteranean commercial hubs. The two cities were populated by a new consumerist class of agrarian capitalists and political elites, a rising new professional class, and a growing financial and trading sector. French-instruction

schools flourished, promoting an elite-oriented education where curricular subjects are significantly-gendered, instructing females in foreign languages, music, the arts, and male students in scientific subjects like engineering and economics.[184] This was part of a state-program to provide the young generation with the needed cultural and symbolic capital for the production of an adequate class of male state-employees and female homemakers and mothers, because the nation state depended on valorizing the practices that maintained class lines and bourgeois family and social structures. Transportation and communication networks permeated Egypt and led to increased mobility and new possibilities for contact and interaction. However, just as Egypt was reaching this level of modern development, by 1882, it came under British occupation.[185] The British occupation was therefore condemned by Egypt's intellectuals who were schooled in the liberalist tradition of modernity, and in their fight to end colonial exploitation, they espoused the rights of modern citizenship contingent on the liberal politics of the state, replacing European class struggle with the national struggle for independence from Britain. They countered Western colonialism and the dominant hegemony of the West through the very terms of elite and bourgeois citizenship, and while this turned their independence enterprise into an affirmation of class equivalence with an elite and bourgeois Europe, their ventures to

[184] On Egypt's educational system and the debates between British administrators and Egyptian officials as it related to curriculum and the formation of modern subjects, see Pollard's chapter "The Home, the Classroom, and the Cultivation of Egyptian Nationalism," in *Nurturing the Nation,* 100-31; the second part of Mona Russell's, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman,* 2004; more on education in Egypt during the British occupation see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt,* 1991.

[185] For more on these socio-historical conditions of life in Egypt, see Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammod Ali,* 1981.

access liberal European bourgeois and elite circles were significantly strategic, insightful, and consequently productive. But middle-class Egyptians clung to indigenous cultural forms and structures as they embraced and adopted bourgeois ones, often leading them to unite varying influences in their lifestyles and philosophies, a process perfectly illustrated by the images that circulate in the Egyptian national press and the moral and social models the royal family of Fuad I present to Egyptians and to the rest of the world as I show in Chapter Four.

Much of modern politics is about bourgeois individual and collective subjectivity, which extends to family, children, womanhood, and domesticity in ways that organize the private and public spheres of the individual. This is precisely the scenario that takes place in Egypt with the Egyptian state overseeing and organizing the lives of the citizens in the early-twentieth-century in parallel with the many bourgeois-oriented reform literatures that permeate intellectual productions in the press and elsewhere. Everywhere in Egypt's literary scene, national identity politics merge with bourgeois discourse due to their common aesthetic manifestations, but this bourgeois discourse incorporates and articulates indigenous values as it organizes Egyptian society, suggesting a conscious attachment to native identity--an identity that persists in the private realm of the family and gender relations. This makes European bourgeois class more of a publicly-situated aesthetic field of subjectivity in Egypt, finding shape and expression within the discourse of nation-building, which explains why postcolonial intellectuals elaborate their reformist moral formulas after bourgeois models. The aesthetism of politics is so ubiquitous that European class even provides the terms through which (post)colonial intellectuals, literati, and

journalists express their indigenous national identity, being the concrete embodiments of the political discourse. In Egypt, European class merges aesthetically with the political to such a degree that even discourses of indigenous authenticity are articulated through the terms of European taste. But this was partly in response to British civilizational attacks on native Egyptian culture, for the British colonizer looked at it from the perspective of post-Enlightenment politics and idealized European class structures and practices, merging in the process ethnography, politics, and moral taste. This aesthetic-based politics propagated the notion that Egyptian subjectivity was not disposed for independence for lacking the very aesthetic forms that bind subjective sensibilities and judgments to modern politics. It is within this logic that Mustapha Kamil and Ya'qub Sanu' strategically elaborate their double discursive practices and personas, switching between an Egyptian indigeneity different from European cultural forms and an aesthetic-based subjectivity at home with European culture.

The (post)colonial writings of Muhammad al-Muwaylihi (1858-1930), Ya'qub Sanu' (1839-1912), and Mustapha Kamil (1874-1908) show how the aesthetic ideology of national politics complicates the anti-colonial struggle of the Egyptian intellectual, leading them to elaborate intricate philosophies and strategies to fight the looming hegemony of the West while staying within hegemonic aesthetic frameworks. I note that with Kamil and Sanu', the aesthetic principles of modern politics become concretized as class practices, as social and cultural tools deployed in the service of winning European allies instead of a limitation. Their reform texts converge in a concern to rid Egypt of the British occupation (1882-1952) and to put an end to Western influence by embracing modernity's ethos, its

liberal universalist ideologies, and by articulating its class-oriented sensibilities. On the one hand, their writings respond to the colonial gaze of Britain, which focuses on the private sphere of the Egyptian family as a measure of civilizational development and a yardstick that gages the country's readiness for independence. The civilizational logic implemented by Britain to criticize Egypt's perceived backwardness anchors their nationalist reform to middle-class practices, for the latter provide the concrete social and economic form that parallels the political aesthetic ideology of modern national politics. There is a common thread in their writings, which links authentic Egyptian subjectivity with modernity's epistemology[186], fusing Eurocentric, meliorist, transcendentalist principles with indigenous values and traditions. But, at times, they feel compelled to expunge native Egyptian identity from practices distasteful to European standards of taste—a fact which in other national discourses engendered national debates on women's position at home and society, making veiling and seclusion important civilizational and political signs. In the national discursive scene, European class practices such as social and dining etiquette, feminine home-management, and monogamous marriages and romance all become standard models of subjectivity politicized within the nation-state. This type of ideological aestheticism governs the reform politics of most al-*Nahda al-Arabiya's* (Arab Renaissance) intellectual activity[187] in varying ways, and though al-Muwaylihi, Kamil, and

[186] See Stephen Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*, 2004, 12. Sheehi argues that this modern epistemology is endemic to postcolonial Nahda subjectivity, and which he lays out in accordance to several developmentalist reform poles. Reform is a common nineteenth-century Arabic literary thematic based on an evolutionary epistemology that had originated in European thought.

[187] *Nahda al-Arabiya* is a nineteenth-century intellectual movement fueled by the need to reform Arab society in the wake of European colonialism and was influenced to a great extent by the epistemology of modernity.

Sanu' primarily concerned themselves with Egyptian independence, their literary productions take up the modular social, cultural, and rhetorical forms of the aforementioned aesthetic-based subjectivity in attempting to reform the nation and advancing the Egyptian anti-colonial cause.

In Mohamed al-Muwaylihi's novel, *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* (1898-1903), I noted the prevalence of European-Egyptian negative ethnographic comparatives that trap him in a race dialectic that assesses native civility according to a logic of racial Otherness even as he affirms the moral and legal superiority of an indigenous Islam. Averse to Egypt's adoption of French laws and to liberalist social practices, such as public entertainment and gender-mixing, his Egyptian ethnography remains aesthetically-bounded, linking the "uncivil" behaviors and predilections of his fellow Egyptians with their failure to practice modern citizenship, thereby valorizing European bourgeois moral taste as a measure of national progress. Al-Muwaylihi, Kamil, and Sanu' are predisposed to espousing modernity's universalizing ethos due to the diverse urban environment where they had learned Egyptian citizenship and the Arabo-Francophone education they had received; they also express shared aesthetic sensibilities with Europeans, which are the result of modernity's economic and social developments, intercontinental Mediterranean travel, nineteenth-century-shared Franco-Egyptian histories and mutual desire poetics.

The bourgeois and class-oriented sensibilities that govern these postcolonial discourses are not entirely alien to Egypt, for, even as social foreign tactics, they remain informed by the modern changes that took place in the country since the mid-nineteenth-

century. They are rooted in a concept of reform inspired by modernity[188] as a universalist aesthetico-ideological movement constituting the spirit of the age. Modernity, as a product of the Enlightenment, gave birth to a new human subject who lives life aesthetically, that is who creatively turns to "the sensuous body," while "inscribing that body with a subtly oppressive law,"[189] autonomously obeying the rules of the state through becoming a self-conscious, self-feeling, self-articulating, and self-pleasing embodiment of those rules. In Egypt's literary and journalistic discourses, the emotive interiority of the modern subject/Egyptian (post)colonial intellectual—-his/her "concrete particularity" or individuality—converges with an idealized universalism, linking their subjective interiority to the collective agendas of the national state. The politics of the Egyptian nation-state presents this convergence as a utopian collective unity through its universalizing principles of equality and liberty. The urban capitalism of modernity provides adequate spaces, consumerist practices (where commodities are themselves fetishized as art objects), and visual phenomena, such as the dominance of scopic perspective (World Exhibit) and of specular practices (fashion and photography as a concretized practice of self-performativity), which further feed the specious link between the collective/public (think of urban crowds) and the individual (the private space of interiority and of the home).

[188] See Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, 1990, 7. Eagleton theorizes from a Marxist perspective that the historical moment when methods of production have turned into 'artefacts, that is into 'commodities in the marketplace,' existing for themsevles.

[189] Ibid., 9.

Modernity in urban Egypt was a movement that gave concrete form to the values of syncretism and self-actualization through the consumption of commodities, cosmopolitanism, perpetual self-invention, and the social mobility exalted by the liberal politics of the nation state. This illustrates how the modern, the aesthetic, the national, and the bourgeois became one and the same, a fact embodied in the very logics of Egypt's (post)colonial and reform literatures[190]. In fact, Kamil and Sanu' both entertained a kind of collective unity and kinship with Europe expressing a strategic syncretism[191], which functioned as both a habitus-facilitating element and a socially-advantageous symbolic capital in foreign relations.

Even though scholars discuss postcolonial cultural hybridity,[192] they overlook important elements that inform postcolonial consciousness: geoculture and education, class formation, and individual histories of the native country in relation to the West. They likewise topographically confine modernity to Europe, overlooking its universalizing ethos and its applicability to the Mediterranean-Egyptian context, becoming in the process tailored to Egypt's unique ethnic, religious, and political histories; No less important is Egypt's eighteenth and nineteenth-century unique aesthetic Egyptological/Orientalist significance for France, and the advantage of a double Mediterranean-Egyptian identity

[190] See Hahn 2009. Parisian modernity was a trend of thought where consumption was associated with a complex and contradictory set of values and impulses, and it influenced the formation of a range of identities for consumers.

[191] See Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, "Where Elites Meet: Harem Visits, Sea Bathing, and Sociabilities in Precolonial Tunisia, c. 1800-1881," in *Mediterraneans,* 2011.

[192] See Homi Bhabha in "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," 1984, 125-133.

aesthetically aware of its place in the European imaginary and capable of deploying taste in the cultivation of Western friends and allies. Both Arab and Francophone, Egyptian intellectuals, like Mustapha Kamil and Ya'qub Sanu' have unique literary and aesthetic access to French cultural identity-paradigms, which facilitates their deployment of European taste as an effective strategy of communicating the liberal politics of the Egyptian nation state to the French. This compels me to seek to broaden the available theories of (post)colonial subjectivity to consider such factors as Francophone education, geography, history, and modernity as Mediterranean transnational vectors of a shared late-and-early-twentieth-century identity between France and Egypt, and which primarily emerges in taste. Pierre Bourdieu's conception of aesthetically-structured class practices, such as the habitus, as cultural and symbolic capital is critical to our understanding of the postcolonial Francophone Egyptian intellectual's practice of foreign diplomacy. Bourdieu's theory becomes equally-valuable when applied to Egypt's state-building agendas and social-reform discourses because the latter prioritize the same cultural and social programs deemed appealing and fulfilling to the national citizen while maintaining the rigidity of class lines. The rhetoric of contemporary state-reform programs and institutions encouraged the patronage of Egypt's elites by valorizing, diffusing, and spreading their lifestyles and values as worth-emulating. Similarly to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, Egyptian middle-and-lower classes entertained the possibility of upward social mobility through their adherence to these patronage programs, making cultural capital in Egyptian state-building a key insidious component that finds discursive expression in the politics of family and gender, and in pedagogy books. When communicating their visions

of reform, I found that Kamil and Sanu' use taste as a valuable cultural capital that helps them express their syncratic identities and competently navigate the socio-psychic web of colonial modernity. I am using the term "colonial modernity" to refer to a colonially-contextualized mutual Franco-Egyptian history of desire and a shared future vision of national progress aligned with modernity's capitalist and performative practices. Sanu' and Kamil particularly tailor their Franco-Egyptian education and identity to foreign diplomacy by implementing a mode of sociality that combines European moral taste, knowledge of nineteenth-century French Orientalist desire poetics, and a modern liberal discourse reconciled with Islam.

In fact, Mohammed al-Muwaylihi, Ya'qub Sanu', and Mustapha Kamil's literary and epistolary writings, reveal Egypt's intelligentsia's complicated relationship with France, condemning colonial exploitation while persisting in expressing aesthetically-oriented visions of reform in accordance with European moral sensibilities. The three travelled to France and maintained friendly relations with colonial power as they continued to advocate for independence and for preserving the integrity of Egypt's cultural identity.[193] They are a product of Francophone education and a French colonial tutelage that had started since Mohamed Ali's modernizing efforts in the 1820s, and, in fact, they often express elitist tastes and predilections as they appeal to their readership, but their frequent appeals

[193] Ibrahim al-Muwayliḥi at the Khedive Isma'il's invitation traveled with him when he was exiled in 1879, and Momhamed was also compelled to leave the country when he was arrested for distributing leaflets written by his father during the 1882 ʿUrabi Revolt, a direct consequence of which had been the British occupation of Egypt. Father and son traveled widely, to Italy, to Paris, to London, and finally to Istanbul when Ibrahim received an "invitation" from the Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamid to travel to the Ottoman capital. Both spent a year in Istanbul, and Ibrahim wrote a famous account of his time there (Mā Hunālik) which was published in Cairo following his return in 1896 and immediately banned.

to taste are often deployed as motivational discursive instruments for advocating national reform and as strategic devices in communicating Egypt's cause for independence to the West. In this context, British colonialism is condemned with vehement force, using all the ideological tools at their disposal to make a strong case to the anti-imperial political left in Europe.[194] Egypt's participation in modernity was a fundamental concern in their nationalist writings, consistently articulating the need for progress. They were operating in a social and cultural environment which involved them in shared cultural histories with Europe[195], making linguistic and ideological boundaries between them and France porous instead of rigid, for Egyptian-French relations had reached their peak in the nineteenth century as the two became mutually-present in each-other's imaginaries and poetics of desire.[196] While Egypt and France assigned each other different meanings in accordance to their unique political geographies and economies of power,[197] by the turn-of-the-century,

---

[194] See Letter dated 12 July 1891 written by Kamil to his brother Ali Fahmi Kamil. See Mustafa Kamil, *Awraq Mustafa Kamil: Al-murasalat*, 1982, 136; Also see Al-Rafi'i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 24–29, 31–48. Also see Marsot, *Egypt and Cromer*, 156–57; Lord Cromer, *Abbas II*, 1915, 1–10; see also Berque, *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution*, 1972, 63–169; See *Al-Ahram*, 28 December 1894; 4 January 1895; January 1895; 4 February 1895; 23 February 1895; 4 March 1895. Kamil began writing nationalist articles in the local press in early 1893. See *Al-Ahram*, 11 February 1893; 16 February 1893; 24 February 1893; 8 March 1893; 20 April 1893; 20 July 1894; 31 July 1894; 3 August 1894; 1 September 1894; 8 September 1894. See also *Al-Mu'ayid*, 5 August 1895, cited in Al-Rafi'i, Mustafa Kamil, 60.

[195]See Gauri Viswanathan in *Masks of Conquest*, 1984.

[196] See Marilyn Booth, *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*, 2010; Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, "Where Elites Meet" in *Mediterraneans,* 2011; Donald Low, *History of Bourgeois Perception*, 1982; Lise Lowe, *Critical Terrains*, 1991; Nancy Mickelwright, "Domestic Interiors in Photography from the Late Ottoman World" in *Harem Histories*, 2010; see Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,*1989, 217-236; see Mary Robert, *Intimate Outsiders*, 2007; Emily Weeks, "The Reality Effect': The Orientalist Paintings of John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876), 2004); See also Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind*, 2000.

[197]See Joan DelPlato, "Dress and Undress" in *Harem Histories*, 2010; See also *From Slave Market to Paradise*, 1987 and *Multiple Wives: Multiple Pleasures*, 2002; See Madeleine Dobie, *Foreign Bodies*, 2001;

their shared histories and cultural encounters had produced hybrid cultural identities on both sides.[198] This challenges the dominant truisms and assumptions that bound cultural hybridity with such concepts as colonial subordination, incomplete civility, and Otherness.[199] Hommi Bhabha indirectly locates the colonizer's perceived failure of the colonial enterprise in class performance, making the colonized subject's enactment of the aesthetic model of Western subjectivity a key indicator of its efficacy. I find his emphasis on civility highly astute due to the attention it pays to the theatricality of civilized subjectivity---a theatricality that follows social, cultural, and political etiquette. But I take issue with Bhabha's dispossession of (post)colonial agency, presuming the colonized subject's credulous, faithful, and exclusive commitment to Western cultural identity. And while the latter manages to infiltrate the psyche of the Egyptian subject through the many epistemologies and principles of the modern-state, the (post)colonial subject, as the case of Kamil and Sanu' shows, proves astute, strategic, and versatile in their performance of the modern subjectivity of coloniality.

Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham: Between Enlightenment Humanism and Islamic Moralism

Al-Muwaylihi's aesthetico-moral angle in addressing the question of Egyptian reform in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* (1898-1903) is a prime example of aesthetically-bounded postcolonial identity, highlighting the place of bourgeois taste in channeling the transcendentalist and meliorist logics of European modernity and in revising a conservative

---

See Mohja Kahf, *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman*, 1999; See Edward Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians*, 1836.

[199] See Clifford Geertz in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1973, 238–249.

Islamic moralism.[200] Through the protagonist, Isa, al-Muwaylihi expresses a conflicted and ideologically-mixed vision of reform, combining a conservative Muslim moralism with an Enlightenment-inspired humanism while judging Egyptians' degree of civility in accordance to European standards of taste. *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* (1898-1903) is a serialized *maqama* novel and a critical commentary on Egypt under British occupation, enabling a retrospective understanding of the social forces dominant in the country at the turn of the century.[201] It first appeared in Mohamed al-Muwaylihi's monthly publication, *Mishbah al-Sharq* (1898-1899) and was later published in book form in 1903.[202] What particularly strikes me in the narrative are its author's moral taste and class-oriented sensibilities, yet it figures within a complex *Nahda* epistemology of reform and a liberal Enlightenment philosophy egalitarian at its heart. Concerned with the need to put an end to the British occupation of Egypt and revive a "stagnant"[203] Arabo-Muslim tradition within a self-critical nationalistic framework, it equally condemns European economic intervention and the native Egyptian elites who condone it. In fact, *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* reflects contradictory poles of Arab Egyptian subjectivity, for despite being opposed to

[200] See also Luca Vercelloni, *The Invention of Taste*, 2016, 52-61.

[201] Mohamed al-Muwaylihi, *Hadith Isa ibn Hisham*, 1943 [1898-1903].

[202] The Muwayliḥīs—father Ibrāhīm and son Muḥammad—had been vigorous participants in Egyptian political and cultural life beginning in the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863–79). The father had held prominent positions, and his son often joined his father in such activities. Both men were acquainted, for example, with the renowned Islamic activist, Jamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī, and his colleague, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who was to become a major figure in the Islamic reform movement in Egypt.For fuller details on the two men's involvement in Egyptian and Ottoman politics, see Allen, A *Period of Time,* 1–14.

[203] This term belongs to the epistemology of reform of the *Nahda* and was often used in descriptions of the Arab Middle-East, which was in need of revival through progress.

British colonialism, the overall increasing Westernization of Egypt, and the country's rampant social inequalities, the book contains a normalized Eurocentric meliorist vision of individual and social reform and a socio-cultural perspective that embeds the narrative with class-biased judgments.[204] This naturally clashes with al-Muwaylihi's anticolonial fervor and his outcry against Egypt's indebtedness to European economies and cultures. But the bourgeois and class-oriented sensibilities it contains are rooted in the concept of reform, which is greatly aligned with modernity as an idealized aesthetico-ideological movement that entails the promise for development and self-actualization, implicating the self in moral judgments of an aesthetic nature and in concerns of social mobility and self-fashioning. To understand what makes al-Muwaylihi's reform vision in the novel consistent with European moral taste, it is necessary to grasp the connection between the modern epistemology of reform at the heart of Arab subjectivity present in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* and the hegemonic discourse of moral taste that dominated European bourgeois society in the eighteenth-century along the rise of nation-state.[205]

At the beginning, the book does not appear to endorse Eurocentric reform epistemologies and bourgeois class-biases, as Isa, the protagonist, seems to be

[204] In 1927, *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām*, was published as a textbook by the Ministry of Education for use in secondary schools. Muḥammad undertook an extensive revision of the work before its publication as mentioned in Al-Muwayliḥī, *ʿIlāj al-nafs.*

[205] Before the founding of *Misbah al-Sharq*, in 1884, Muhammad accompanied his father Ibrahim al-Muwaylihi to Paris on a political mission. In the French capital both Ibrahim and Muhammad al-Muwaylihi worked along Jamal al-din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh in the publication of *Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa*, a newspaper that had a great impact on people in the Arab Middle East. The publication often directed its outrage on British colonialism in Egypt and the perils of increasing Westernization in the country, and it called for Pan-Islam in support of the Ottoman Califate. *Misbah al-Sharq* later took up all these issues with enthusiasm after their return to Egypt,and thus became the main journalistic platform for the discussion and dissemination of important information related to matters of national importance.

fundamentally concerned with ridding Egypt of foreign influence and of social inequalities. The need to reform the Egyptian character prior to being on the national path towards progress passes through Isa's Islamic purist moral filter as he continues to judge native behavior according to the precepts of religion. And though, for Isa, Egypt's progress through reform is paramount, there persists in his philosophy an Islamic *Salafi* discourse that calls for a return to authentic *Shari'ah.* Regardless of his urgent appeals to revise it in accordance with the social changes in the country, in essence, he believes in the moral and legal superiority and suitability of Islamic law over any foreign legal code in Egypt. Besides, the Arab reader encounters in the *maqama* form a familiar Arabic and Muslim genre with its use of the *Isnad* as a medium of reporting events and the *saj* [206]as a style that musically delights the interlocutor. Both stylistic features reflect al-Muwaylihi's attachment to Arabo-Muslim lyrical form.[207] There are also in the wanderings of the two protagonist references to the roamings of both the original Isa Ibn Hisham in *Maqamat Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadani*[208] and the traveling author of the *Rihla* (Muslim travel literature) genre in Islamic literature. In fact, the perpetual movement of the protagonists

[206] Sajʿ literally means the cooing of a dove, and it refers to the ancient style of cadenced and rhyming prose encountered in the pre-Islamic era in the utterances of preachers and soothsayers, and later forming the primary stylistic feature of the Qurʾanic revelations, to appear once again in Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī maqāmah; see also Adonis, *An Introduction to Arab Poetics*, 1990. He argues that *Jahilliya* poetry was "judged according to how far it could arouse ṭarab, a state of musical delight or ecstasy, and the poetics was founded on what could be called an aesthetics of listening and delight.

[207]The *maqama* form calls attention to the act of telling adding to the realism and significance of what is being said, however, the subject matter of *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* is quite modern, discussing the transformation of Egypt's social scene and directing harsh invectives at Egypt's class of hypocritical bureaucrats and immoral elites in a liberal satirical manner.

[208] ʿĪsā ibn Hishām, the narrator of and often participant in the famous collection of maqāmāt composed centuries earlier by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, 969–1007.

makes it resemble a *rihla* travel text, as Isa and the resurrected Pasha's tour of Cairo engenders interesting political discussions and debates about their native identity. The Pasha's return from the dead plays a fundamental role in the story through creating a space for introspection via the Pasha's defamiliarizing perspective. The Pasha's mindset is decades-away from contemporary Egypt making him judge what he sees according to the *Ancien-regime* norms that were prevalent in the past when aristocratic titles and a rigid etiquette were in place. Isa, on the other hand, represents the new generation and challenges the Pasha's assumptions at every turn. A young student of law schooled in both European and *Shari'a* law, he is adept at countering the observations and comments of the Pasha with a mordant criticism that appeals to both ethics and reason. Indeed, Isa's discourse seems to be ideologically split between a conservative Islamic moralism and a Eurocentric Enlightenment liberalism. In matters of decency and prudery, al-Muwaylihi is revealed to be overly conservative, threatened by the increasing presence of women in entertainment places, confining their presence in the story to strictly tempting roles, and he does not approve of the theater, seeing it as a purely Western institution that incites people to simulate alien immoral behavior. Prudent and self-righteous, he is naturally averse to the spread of entertainment places like gambling dens and bars, which he associates with the financial schemes of Europeans he urges Egyptians to avoid through abstaining from hedonistic pursuits. A true practice of Islam would help keep foreign financial exploitation at bay since it forbids *riba* (lending with interest), the main mechanism by which European lenders extort money from native Egyptians. But when it comes to al-Muwaylihi's reform

vision, he appears to espouse Eurocentric historicism and humanist liberal politics,[209] encourages his practice of a cultural relativism characteristic of nineteenth-century European anthropological epistemology. His banter with the Pasha provides the occasion for pondering the evolution of Egypt and the ways in which moral and social values change across time, highlighting the transcendent path trodden by the Egyptian subject from the *Ancien Regime* towards less oppressive socio-political structures. The end of aristocratic privilege is conceptualized by al-Muwaylihi as an inevitable byproduct of rational thinking, and in this context, values and norms are proven arbitrary social constructs. Isa's concern is to convince the Pasha that values are not inherently viable since they are invented by society to justify and frame dominant practices: "What was considered a virtue in the past is regarded as depravity on the morrow; behavior which was regarded as a failing in past ages is now considered a virtue. In the past, nobility may indeed have derived its splendor from forceful authority and used brute strength to support itself, but today nobility in every sense demands submission to the regulations of the law."[210] In his call for a revisionist reading of Shari'a law, Isa reflects a Muslim moralism and a secularist logic at the heart of his reform recipe:

> Isa: The noble Shariah...lasts forever, as long as there is any justice in the world and honesty exists among peoples. But it is a treasure ignored by its own folk, a jewel neglected by its own merchants, Or a precious pearl, no sooner did a diver see it than he rejoiced and sank in prayer. Nowadays people pay no attention to the various aspects of its structure and formulation. Instead they prefer to adhere to the branches at the expense of the roots and to dispense with the kernel for the husks.

[209] This figures in *Isa Ibn Hisham* to a great length in the Universal reason also became a standard criterion inseparable from the discourses of the Arab nation state, which privileged a new form of narrative historicism as exemplified by Jurji Zaydan's historical novel in the mid-nineteenth century and in the dive into the past that structured the temporal schemata of *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham.*

[210] Al-Muwaylihi 57.

> They argue about regulations, concentrate assiduously on insignificant matters, and devote themselves to paltry and worthless matters. Their greatest aspiration and goal is to obscure the clear truth and complicate our liberal faith. [211]

This revisionist call is motivated by the need to reach the simple truth and the ability to practice the Islamic faith with liberty and without the shackles of the formalistic traditions upheld by the religious sheikhs. Al-Muwaylihi expresses the need to implement a novel and simple formalistic economy in the implementation of *Shari'ah* law likely inspired by the stylistic modifications that were being enacted on classical Arabic through the movement of translation initiated by al-Tahtawi[212]. During this time, the belletristic style of classical Arabic was criticized for lacking the verbal economy, practicality, and utility French and other European languages had, making them better suited for modern sciences and communication.

In a similar vein, Isa expresses a historicist logic that calls for revising the religious legal text in accordance with the changing times as another recipe for progress, contending that al-*Jumud* (decrepitude and stagnation) is the cause of injustice and inequity in the country. Misinterpretations of *Shari'ah* law, a resignation to the concept of destiny, and an excessive concern with the ritualistic side of Islam are roadblocks in the way of dispensing justice. According to Isa, the lawmakers who decided to adopt the Napoleonic legal code in Egypt "never grasped what the laws of time demand," and that "Every era

---

[211] Ibid.

[212] Rifā'a aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873) had already compared the two languages, French and Arabic, in his seminal riḥla Takẖlīṣ al-ibrīz ilā talẖīṣ Bārīz ("The Extrication of Gold in Summarising Paris"), noting that the clarity of the French language was the basis of the advancement of the French people in science and arts, a clarity devoid of the typical ambiguity of the Arabic language, therefore implicitly putting out a call to the Arabs to find a solution to this problem.

has an order of its own which requires that the provisions of the Shari'ah be adjusted."[213] After failing to revise the noble *Shari'ah*, Egyptian lawmakers accused it of legal deficiency and lack of fairness, and adopted, instead, an alien legal code unfit for governing native Egyptian.

Isa condemns faulty education, moral decline, intellectual sloth, and the resignation of the sheikhs to the status quo as causes for Egypt's subordination to Europe. The religious authorities of al-Azhar resemble the European medieval clergy in their rigid interpretations of the Islamic legal system and their indicting charges of heresy. They embody all the negative attributes that lead to decline: "The diseases of mutual envy, hatred, discord... cowardice, lassitude, weakness, dissatisfaction, slackness, tedium, and laziness are now deeply ingrained inside them," further plunging the country in foreign exploitation.[214] Al-Muwaylihi anchors his moralism in the Islamic tradition which is pure and fair in its essence, but which needs to be expunged of empty formalities and the sheikhs' unjustified attachment to its old tedious rituals. Clearly unapologetic and free of jingoism, his reformist moralism entails the need for self-accountability, contending that "Since we've all done these things ourselves, the sin and responsibility is ours; we're the ones to blame.[215]" Isa's modern reform epistemology is not fundamentally opposed to the Islam, as he argues that the fault lies within the corrupt character of the Azhar Sheikhs, not within their religion, because true Islam consolidates progress and in straying away from the moral precepts of

[213] Ibid., 47.

[214] Ibid., 48.

[215] Ibid., 49.

God, the sheikhs' dogma and aversion to development increased, thereby becoming unfit agents of national development by being unfit Muslims.[216] Truly dedicated to the cause of progress in the country and upholding a modern model of civic identity, al-Muwaylihi denounces the traditionalist conservatism of al-Azhar authorities who scoff at "scholars, men of virtue, intellectuals, true believers, and pious folk" who attempt to offer innovative interpretations of *Shari'ah* law in accordance with the changing times. In doing this, al-Muwaylihi adopts an Enlightenment humanist discourse which defines virtue in terms of seeking the truth through knowledge, a quality lacking in the sheikhs who deter the flourishing of ideas. [217]

In the spirit of modern democracy, literacy, and transparency, Isa exalts the press to the Pasha and describes it as an ideal platform for collecting and reporting stories of public interest. It is an imported aspect of Western civilization indispensable for the high functionality of modern society thanks to its spread of knowledge and information. Newspapers are important in promoting justice and equity as well, for they "give due credit for value and merit," they "rebuke depravity," and aim "to criticize bad actions and encourage good ones, to draw attention to points of imperfection, and to urge people to correct mistakes." [218] The democratic role of the press falls within the noble moral precepts of Islam as well for "those who run the press occupy the position of 'those who command good deeds and prohibit bad deeds' as advocated by the Prophet Mohamed in the *Sunnah*,"

---

[216] See Elie Kedourie, *Afghani and Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam,* 1997, 20-96

[217] Al-Muwaylihi 49.

[218] Ibid., 58.

[219] making it an essential component in leading a just modern society.[220] But the institution of the press remains threatened by al-Azhar's dogma since "the sheikhs are of all people the least likely to follow this course and pursue the journalistic profession. They consider working in it to be heresy. They've dubbed it innovation or *bid'a* (which the Shariah forbids)." [221] Espousing an identity that is simultaneously progressive and Islamic and living within a pluralistic society of differing cultures and attitudes, al-Muwaylihi cannot escape the Europe-Egypt ethnographic comparatives that governed some of Tahtawi's analysis in *Takhlis*. For him, virtue constitutes a fundamental quality for progress, but in consistently tying morals to European bourgeois and elite modes of aesthetic judgment, and in persistently invoking prosperous foreigners as exemplary models of moral behavior, he falls within ethnographic negative poetics, which undermines his anti-colonial project. In this context, there are many negative traits that al-Muwaylihi depicts as inherently Egyptian, juxtaposing them with their European moral opposites, an attitude of moral essentialism that traps him in Eurocentric race dialectics. For example, he portrays the aesthetic appeal of urban design in contemporary Cairo as a result of foreign presence, which he compares to an aesthetically-baren precolonial Cairo. In doing this, al-Muwaylihi inadvertently applies a transcendentalist logic of civility, which puts Egyptians at a lower rank of development compared to Europeans, what Dipesh Chakrabarty calls "the

---

[219] Sunnah is the model behavior of the Prophet Mohamed.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid.

imaginary waiting-room of history."[222] Honest, logical, and free of nationalist jingoism, the responsibility he interpellates native Egyptians to take is morally-commendable and lacks the self-defensiveness that marks some postcolonial discourses. However, the irony with which he critiques native Egyptians' stagnancy and lack of initiative is often expressed in terms of Egyptian-European ethnographic juxtapositions that highlight the Europe-Egypt civility gap. In matters of discipline and diligence, Egyptians come in stark opposition with foreigners, and according to Isa, their own failure to take action makes them responsible for their own exploitation:

> Isa: Foreigners have a greater right to wealth because they are serious and work harder. Egyptians on the other hand deserve to be poor because they are negligent and leave everything to foreigners. As a result, the majority of cases in which these courts have competence to pass judgment inevitably result in Egyptians being deprived of their money and property. [223]

Discipline, hard-work, and pragmatics are qualities that Egyptians lack, which leads to their exploitation by European entrepreneurs and bankers. As for Egypt's upper crust of society, they still live on their ancestors' inheritance, which makes them idle, libertine, and spendthrift. They constitute a loyal clientele for the foreigners who own the drinking and gambling dens and the expensive entertainment places in the country. Isa takes issue with this class's blind imitation of Europeans, arguing that this simulation only entails the immoral undisciplined side of Western culture, a fact which implicates native Egyptians in harmful money schemes. The Napoleonic Code which governs Egypt's civil and criminal

---

[222] See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity*, 2002; Provincializing *Europe*, 2000; see also Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, 1993.

[223] Al-Muwaylihi 59.

affairs in Mixed Courts alongside the trial of non-Muslims in European courts put native Egyptian Muslims at a disadvantage and compounds the socio-economic inequality between them and non-Muslims. A dogma-free re-evaluation of the Muslim *Shari'ah*, the legal and moral body that governs the lives of Muslims, is therefore urgent for ending this unjust and disorderly state of affairs. But Isa's critical assessment of native civility, despite the overt stand it takes against foreign exploitation, harbors an admiring attitude towards the discipline, order, and pragmatics of Europeans and a deprecating view of his "ignorant," "dogmatic," "indolent," and "apathetic" fellow Egyptians.

Liberty, in the European Enlightenment tradition, is defined as a right that is earned through the exercise of reason and commitment to action, and al-Muwaylihi faults Egyptians for failing to do both. There is behind Isa's resolve a revolutionary democratic ideal infused with a transcendentalist Kantian logic whereby proper planning and the use of rational faculties can rid Egypt of exploitation, arguing that "Intelligence involves the effective use of thought to rid oneself of misfortunes and devising a scheme to put an end to anxieties."[224] While Al-Muwaylihi's critical position, in its emphasis on the use of reason and its scientific objectivism seems justifiable, the correlation he makes between wealth, reason, and aesthetic judgment, establishes economic prosperity as an inevitable product of meritocracy---a merit system contingent on the aesthetico-moral link elaborated by state ideology, which ironically channels a discriminatory logic of class civility, which attributes lack of native economic success to Egyptian moral degeneracy. This ultimately undermines the social egalitarianism of his nationalistic project.

[224] Ibid., 57.

In fact, al-Muwaylihi's reform recipe is based on a moralism and a class-oriented logic of civility that had been normalized in Europe as a model for modern citizenship since the eighteenth century. To argue that *Hadith Isa Ibn Hicham* contains the aesthetico-moral class bases of sensibility normalized by Europeans by a century earlier warrants a definition of moral taste in connection to beauty, middle-class formation, and the moral and social authority the bourgeoisie acquired in Europe as part of national reform. The eighteenth-century philosophical branch of aesthetics was built on the classical equation between truth and beauty, and philosophers of aesthetics concluded that the philosopher is simply a thorough gentleman in places like England.[225] In this context, an innate moral sense, shows itself through an elegance that characterizes deeds, which is "a sense of beauty in actions on the basis of their loveliness.[226]" The discourse of national reform in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* likewise adopts and elaborates on the link between morals, aesthetic sensibility, education, and the social sentiment needed for progress. This reform formula figures within a paradigm of taste, which puts morality at the top. Unlike most of the Egyptians encountered in the story, Isa is rational, sensitive, and morally-sensible; in other words, he possesses all the civic values needed for modern citizenship. He is qualified to pass judgments on Egyptians by virtue of the moral stances he takes and the refinement of his character. Isa's visit to the Azbakeya Gardens with the Pasha provides an opportune occasion for discussing the value of aesthetic appreciation and the role it plays in moral character. In this context, the absence of Egyptians from the Azbakeya park, like their

[225] See Cooper 1999; see also Nobert Elias 1983.

absence from the extravagant, refined, and visually-appealing residential Isma'iliya district,[227] is yet another sign of their inadequacy for the enjoyment of art and beauty. If wealth and the enjoyment of beauty in residential structures are earned through European pragmatics, proper planning, and hard work, admiring the beauty of nature requires the possession of aesthetic sensibility, curiosity, and a permanent sense of wonder in God's marvelous creation:

> Pasha: Why isn't this place thronged with people? Why aren't they taking advantage of the shade and looking at the beautiful views and marvellous designs? The only people I can see are those foreigners over there wearing their distinctive clothes with their wives and children by their side?
> Isa: Egyptians have grown accustomed to paying minimal attention to cultural pleasures, to seeking solace by looking at lovely views and spectacular sights and to gaining insight and mental stimulation from reading books about nature and the beauties of creation. You find that Egyptians...have confined their thoughts about the universe entirely to material things.[228]

This exchange between the Pasha and Isa deliberately creates a comparison between Egyptians and foreigners who happen to know the value of beauty and of exploration, a quality they clearly inculcate in their children who accompany them to the park:

> If things worked in proportion, Egyptians would be involved in these cultural scenarios, if not for the pleasant sensations involved, then at least as a consequence of the way they imitate Western people and copy their habits in different situations--postures, clothes, way of life, gestures, and repose.[229]

[227] See Mohamed Ali Mohamed Khalil, *The Italian Architecture in Alexandria, Egypt*, 2008, 13; See also Filippo Santorelli, *L'Italia in Egitto*, 1894.

[228] Al-Muwaylihi 178.

[229] Ibid., 179.

Like Tahtawi's negative poetic in regards to Egyptians' lack of interest in educational travel and sightseeing in *Takhlis*[230], al-Muwyalihi adopts a similar dialectic in this aesthetico-ontological correlative, and curiously, this negative comparison in both *Takhlis* and *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* covers issues of taste in connection to knowledge, civic engagement, and moral refinement.

Indeed, some of al-Mwaylihi's most distasteful characters, like the provincial 'Umda (Mayor), are boorish, ignorant, lecherous, and lacking in social etiquette with behaviors that indicate a lack of character depth and of self-restraint. The 'Umda's hedonistic desire for female company takes him and his companions to the lower haunts of Cairo, a character failing that makes him an easy prey to his companions who make him pay large amounts of money for their own entertainment. In addition to the "lewd gestures" he makes to the females at the restaurant, his ravenous appetite and lack of competence in dining etiquette are hyperbolic, going so far as to make him wipe his mouth with the tablecloth. The antics of the U'mda provide a funny *comedie de moeurs* while further commenting on the absence of social and moral sentiment among the provincial class of native Egyptians through the U'mda's complete lack of self-control, aesthetic sensibility, and social tact.

---

[230] See Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi's account on French travel and sightseeing in Newman's translation of *Takhlis al Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz*, 2004. Al-Tahtawhi marries aesthetic form to reason and to the modern civic discourse of justice, liberty, and equity prevalent in French society. In reporting on the people of Paris, he creates several correlates between liberty, travel, justice, and the democratization of taste, embedding once again an ethnographic comparisons to the East that involves a characteristic negative. Accordingly, al-Tahtawi does not neglect to mention the social-mobility ideal included in Article 3 of the French Constitution, and which democratizes eligibility of all French people to all ranks, however, and interestingly for al-Tahtawi's narrative, he rationalizes the principle by means of another racial comparative that deploys the evolutionary language of progress

Curiously, a lack of savviness in mannerisms and dining etiquette is aligned with lewdness, imprudence, and a lack of self-possession, echoing once more the idea that foreigners' self-restraint and superior taste are responsible for their prosperity. The U'mda "gobbled down" one bowl of broth after another while "he kept leaning on the playboy's plate," and when he tried to cut a piece of chicken, it fell on the floor, but "he picked it up with his hands, and ate it."[231] During a dance show, he becomes infatuated with the female dancer once she proceeds to seduce him at his table. It is also the lack of restraint and tact in handling the dining experience that forces him to leave his watch and ring as surety for the damages he incurred at the restaurant.

The 'Umda's lack of class is then put in relief with Isa and the Pasha's conspicuous appreciation of culture on their visit to the Pyramids. Their conversation inside the Giza Palace Museum is on the subject of exhibiting ancient relics, another modern historicist practice cherished by nineteenth-century Europeans.[232] Al-Muwaylihi demonstrates the Pasha's character growth through his acquired appreciation of beauty and culture, thus illustrating the effect of education and experience on character. The author seems to conceptualize a meliorist civic formula in need of implementation and where appreciation of beauty is paramount. The Pasha's progresssive aesthetico-moral sensibility was acquired

[231] Al-Muwaylihi 293.

[232] See Chapter One in this PhD dissertation, "The Egyptological Modalities in the Expression of Desire and Taste in Rachilde's *La Jongleuse,"* where I analyze the role of the Egyptological aesthetic in the French subject's economy of desire and practices of leisure. The aim of this chapter is twofold: to illustrate how *La Jongleuse* deploys the Oriental commodity in class distinction to normalize French colonial agendas at home; and to show how native French taste is expressed through a dialectic of desire where colonialism works in tandem with the aesthetics of Egyptology. *La Jongleuse* is particularly important as a decadent novel on account of the abundance of Oriental exoticism in its intrigue and its participation in a nineteenth-century French practice of elite taste that draws from Orientalist modalities, using Egyptological tropes and exotic commodities as aesthetic and sensual devices to augment attraction and highlight status.

in parallel with his character evolution and likeability, a fact reflected in Isa's progressively more amicable attitude towards him and the Pasha's elaborate description of appealing visual detail in relationship to race and progress. This turn of events establishes the aesthetic dimension of the Pasha as important in his personality, and which culminated in his manifest admiration and enjoyment of the Azbakiya Gardens. The Pasha's delicate side is first revealed through his positive reception of the Isma'iliya quarter's structural designs, and interestingly, his appreciation of beauty figures as a function of his moral growth, which is equally illustrated by means of his softening attitudes toward novelty:

> We reached the Ismāʿīliyyah quarter. When the Pāshā saw the mansions, houses, palaces, and villas, he was entranced by the gardens and bowers which had grown around them and the neat layout of the streets with their trees. He stopped us and broke the silence by asking in astonishment what place this gleaming paradise occupied in the city of Cairo! Once we had given him a description of it, he said: All praise be to Almighty God, Glorious and Powerful! This district used to be in ruins; there were no houses or mansions in it. The only plant life was the barren acacia tree; the only flowers the tragacanth and sayal thorn; the only birds owls, crows, falcons, and eagles. Of wild beasts there would have been foxes, wolves, hyenas, jackals, and lizards.[233]

It is urgent to heed the temporal comparative contained in the Pasha's exclamation at the sight of the beautiful *Isma'iliyah* district, suggesting that the colonial present/presence is responsible for beautifying Cairo's urban space through exquisite gardens, mansions, and villas. The Pasha proceeds to tell Isa that, in the past, the same lot of land was deserted and barren, full of wild animals. The dominance of the zoological and wild element in the Pasha's description implies the lack of culture and urban civility in Egypt's precolonial times. To understand how this aesthetic logic participates in al-Muwaylihi's covert formula

[233] Al-Muwaylihi 54.

for progress, it is important to understand that prior to him, reformist societies in Europe established a link between aesthetic responsiveness and social feeling as they normalized and standardized "the middle-class subjectivity model as a civic, political, and private model."[234] In this modular formula, the "delicacy of taste" which elevates the person's sensibility of pain and pleasure, and collective sympathy, became the fundamental element in social collectivity and in the optimal functioning of modern society.[235]

In the nineteenth century, British theorists established a connection between a nation's taste, its religious sentiment, and its degree of development, contending that "In ages of civilization and refinement, the union of devotional sentiment with sensibility to the beauties of natural scenery, forms one of the most characteristic marks of human improvement."[236] Indeed, al-Muwaylihi insists on this taste paradigm in his reform recipe, and his inclusion of the Azbakeya Gardens' episode works to reinforce Isa's adequacy for modern Egyptian citizenship by illustrating his exemplary delicate appreciation of the gardens' natural scenery and by connecting it to the edifying effect of art and culture on the subject/citizen.[237] Throughout the novel, there is a continuous thread that judges Egypt's state of affairs, that is its failure to tag along the civilizational evolutionary development of the West, from Muwaylihi's aesthetic-moral compass. This assessment

---

[234] See Marjorie Garson, *Moral Taste*, 2007, 6-10.

[235] See Lord Kames in *Elements of Criticism*, 1839, 9.

[236] See Alison, Archibald, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, 1815.

[237] Bustani's Khutba in Stephen Sheehi's *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*, 2004.

model derives from the long-established intellectual idea in Europe that a nation's taste became a conventional parameter of its progress.[238] The link al-Muwaylihi elaborates between moral character and taste is critical in understanding the Eurocentric bourgeois orientation of his citizenship model, and the example of the 'Umda's lack of self-restraint, tact, and taste is a hyperbolic analogy for the average Egyptian who lacks the good judgment necessary for modern progress and for sovereignty. The idea that taste, "improved exactly as we improve our judgment,"[239] produces the concept of reason as refined judgment, establishing taste as a good measure of rationality in general. And in reality, the examples in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* repeatedly convey that "a man of taste is man of judgement in other respects,"[240] indicating that good taste in one aesthetic field permeates all the aspects of an individual's subjectivity, including the social sentiment and the rational reasoning needed for the practice of modern citizenship.

As noted in the examples presented above, the transcendentalist Eurocentric reform epistemologies of the nineteenth century foreground al-Muwaylihi's discourse of national development in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*, and like Europe, its success is based on a bourgeois model of subjectivity where taste is paramount. Foreign intervention provides a critical context for the expression of al-Muwaylihi's epistemology of modernity, which he shared with other *Nahda* intellectuals in Egypt. In *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity* (2004),[241] Stephen Sheehi argues that this modern epistemology is endemic to postcolonial *Nahda*

[238] See Edmund Burke. *On the Sublime and Beautiful. Reflections on the French Revolution,* 1909.

[239] ibid.

[240] See Joshua Reynolds. *Discourses*, 1992, 202.
[241] See Sheehi, *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*, 2004.

subjectivity, and which he lays out in accordance to several developmentalist reform poles. And as illustrated with the examples on taste above, reform is a common nineteenth-century Egyptian literary thematic based on an evolutionary epistemology that had originated in European thought.[242] It presupposes the need to go from a sttaiate of backwardness into a state of progress, from a state of failure or decrepitude into a state of discipline and activity, from a state of stagnation into a state of development and evolution. As such, reform is an anxiety-ridden concern that calls for the need to improve, to educate, fix, and to transcend beyond the uncivil, the static, the corrupt, and the slovenly. Stephen Sheehi brilliantly argues that these dichotomies, while not accurately reflecting the state of Arab society in the wake of colonialism and reform movements, still "represent the epistemological condition endemic to the reform platform of the nineteenth century" as conceptualized by the Arab thinkers, literary, and entrepreneurial elites of that time.[243] In delineating the ways in which the epistemology of European modernity dominates the intellectual Arab arena of the nineteenth century, Sheehi adds that the dichotomy-structured lexicon like "success-failure," "presence-lack," "progress-backwardness" function like poles between which the Arab subject "must move in his/her journey towards reform."[244] Thus, the Arab elite and intellectual reformer thinks of a reform platform within these opposed dichotomies and male-dominated logics, thereby producing visions for themselves and society that fall within a predetermined Eurocentric model that often envisions a linear path of development to thread upon prior to being independent from

[243] Sheehi 12.

[244] Ibid.

Western influence. As seen in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*, Al-Muwaylihi grapples with this particular paradigm of reform in the face of the looming hegemony of Western cultural and political influence in ways that produce ideological contradictions in his reactions to Egyptian society.[245] *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* emerged in a literary continuum of reform ideas that dominated the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' discourse of *al-nahdah al-arabiyah*, for among *Nahda* thinkers, there was a common concern with what they saw as a social and cultural *jumud* (stagnation), and which they attributed to what they believed to be a loss of *iradah* (will) and *raghbah* (desire) to develop *al-ulum wal-maarif* (rational knowledge). This lack of will is rampant in the native portraits sketched in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* who are indifferent in the face of corruption, indolent, and overly concerned with material pleasure. Al-Muwaylihi's emphasis on *tamaddun* (civility) participates in a generalized state of concern with Egypt's *taqaddum* (progress), which depends on reviving Arab culture, society, and politics through awakening Arabs' desire for *al-'ilm* (knowledge), the founding of educational institutions, printing presses, and libraries. This was the formula the *Nahda* intellectuals thought effective in becoming knowledgeable and in instilling in Arabs *hub-al-watan* (the love of nation) conducive to *taqaddum wa*

[245]Salim was a prolific writer who symbolized the quintessence of *al-nahdah al-arabiyah*. He was influenced by al-Tahtawi, theTunisian reformer Khayr al-din, and his father, Salim theorized that the main cause for the social and cultural stagnation (jumud) in Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria, was that the Arabs lacked the will (iradah) and desire (raghbah)to master rational knowledge (al-ulum wal-maarif). These intellectuals all advocated social, cultural, and political renewal. They firmly believed that waking Arabs' love for learning would reawaken their "love of the nation" (hubb al-watan). This national love would create communal "unity and concord" (ulfah wa ittihad) and set forth a new age of national "progress and civilization" (taqaddum wa tamaddun). They also believed that they needed to selectively import intellectual, cultural, and technical innovations from the West while simultaneously stimulating rationalist sentiment.

tamaddun (progress and civilization)[246]. This meant selectively adopting Western inventions, intellectual, technical, and cultural innovations to make Arab progress and civilization possible. Arab *Nahda* thinkers, including al-Muwaylihi, believed in reviving what they saw as rationalist principles and approaches in the Arab Islamic tradition, namely the egalitarianism and the democratic values of Islam.[247] However, there was an inherent conflict in their reform recipe, which arose from the absolute necessity to maintain their Arabo-Muslim originality and the *hajah* (the need) to integrate European secular and positivist knolwedge and social values.[248] This tension translates itself in the contradictory reactions shown in Isa in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*'s reform formula, and which contains bourgeois-oriented logics and formulas to a great extent as it appeals to aesthetic judgment, education, transparency, liberty, and egalitarianism.[249]

French Rhetoric as Cultural and Symbolic Capital in Foreign Relations: Mustapha Kamil and Ya'qub Sanu'

Kamil and Sanu''s cultural complexity oftentimes emerges when they feel the urge to validate their claims to Egyptian state sovereignty, thereby articulating their place in

[246] This was a common eighteenth and nineteenth-century principle of nationalism in Europe. The first to have mentioned the term "nation" in its modern sense was al-Tahtawi (1801-1873). He translated *La Marseillaise* where he rendered "patrie" as *watan* in Arabic (nation) and then in his translation of *La Consideration sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence* by Montesquieu, al-Tahtawi argues that *Hubb al-watan* (love of nation) is the first virtue of a civilization. Also the first Arab playwright, the Lebanese Marun al-Naaash (1817-1855), explains on the occasion of his first play's performance that the main reason for Arabs' lag behind Europe is their lack of *Hubb al-watan* (love of nation). See Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism*, 1990, 75. Also see Marun Naqqash, *Arzat Lubnan*, 1869, 13.

[247] Many journals, salons, and societies such as the Syrian Scientific Society (al-Jamiyah al-ilmiyah al-suriyah) in Beirut and the Society of Knowledge for the Dissemination of Useful Books (Jamiyat al-maarif li-nashr al-kutub al-nafiah) knew an intellectual and cultural revolution similar to the one that had been underway in Europe for a few centuries.

[248] Sheehi 78.

modern civility as authentic Egyptians through the terms of European moral taste. Like al-Muwaylihi, their strategies ultimately strive to articulate authentic identity in the face of the West, but their approaches are embedded within state-normalized upper-and-middle-class subjective paradigms. Kamil and Sanu''s political prowess lies in their strategic use of moral taste in addressing the West, which points to their possession of a double identity that enables them to manipulate colonial politics and to tactically use their knowledge of European moral and aesthetic values in drawing Western audiences. To deny their primary contradictory adoption of the hegemonic model of Egyptian citizenship as (post)colonial Francophone subjects committed to the Egyptian nation-state would be ludicrous, a fact illustrated by the direction taken by their political activities and the hybrid rhetorical nature of their national discourses, often affirming native identity through the affections and feelings of the Western bourgeois model of subjectivity. But their subjective identities do not merely fit the aesthetico-ideological models of the nation-state, they are products of Mediterranean syncretic identities, produced out of cultures in contact and molded together in their discourses as a natural attempt to understand and organize Egyptian society and its relation to Europe. In fact, their syncretic identities prove of high utility as powerful springboards that launch them into exclusive European social and political networks. What I find significant in both Kamil and Sanu' is their application of the economic logic of Pierre Bourdieu's social-class theory of distinction in the investment of their aesthetic identities within foreign relations. In this process, they are both revealed knowledgeable on the workings of upper-and-middle-class French identity paradigms and the social mechanisms and logics that govern social and power relations.

Kamil and Sanu' expressed their visions of reform in ways that challenge the idea of postcolonial hybridity as a process of imperfect colonial mimicry as argued by Homi Bhabha in "Of Mimicry and Man" (1984). Kamil, in particular, challenges the racially-disempowering logic of Homi Bhabha's idea of postcolonial hybridity: contrary to the colonial dynamic painted by Bhabha where the postcolonial subject strives to competently emulate French civility, Kamil seems to effortlessly manipulate Moliere's language, European social etiquette, and transnational politics, and he demonstrates that colonial mimicry, instead of being a shadowy presence or incomplete embodiment of colonial civility and identity, can be a culturally hybrid and cross-cultural mode of communication that is irresistible to colonial authority. As Kamil's rhetoric in *Lettres Egyptiennes* shows, colonial mimicry is a complex strategy of sociality and seduction that involves a great deal of ambivalence on the part of the subject of postcoloniality, yet ambivalence here refers to the colonized's intentionally- ambiguous mode of engaging the colonizer, implying a certain admiring vulnerability and a shared civic philosophy of identity through an indeterminate French rhetoric of seduction. This semantic indeterminacy is what constitutes the ambivalence of the postcolonial subject's communication to colonial authority and not Bhabha's perception of the unconvincing colonized performance of civilizational mimicry. Hommi Bhabha focuses on the colonizer's perception of colonized imitational civility as incomplete, thereby insisting on analyzing colonial mimicry, in accordance with a logic of colonial subordination. He chooses to read the dynamic of mimicry from the viewpoint of the colonizing agent who fully commits to the civilizing mission, and in doing so, he continues to read the colonial interaction as a failed project of

the colonizer's simulation. Bhabha's conception of ambivalence in the relationship of coloniality presumes the absence of political agendas on the part of the colonized and only pertains to the difficulty to determine the success of the colonial enterprise. But in focusing on the colonizer's perspective of the colonized as an ambivalent sign, both a failed project of idealized civility and a subordinated inferior Other, Bhabha locks the colonial interaction in a dynamic of colonial paternalism marked by the colonizer's patronizing perfectionism. Bhabha's view also inscribes this dynamic with a politics cultural essentialism, which presumes cultures to be insulated instead of mutually-constitutive entities, which in turn, implies the Western origin of the tradition of modern civility rather than its culturally-diverse composite nature (as illustrated in Chapter Two). The sociology of syncretism emphasizes the need to perceive cultural tradition as a "continuity in difference," to conceive of cultural identities as being in constant flux instead of being fixed, and to consequently refrain from unitarily attributing tradition to some racial or ethnic origin.[250] What matters are the strategic discourses implemented to legitimize or de-legitimize the traditions that make up syncretic identities within the politics of nationalism. How does syncretic identity serve the interests of the Egyptian (post)colonial nationalist subject? What is the role of power relations in the avowal or disavowal of syncretic identity? And how does this new understanding of syncretism change our perception of Egyptian (post)colonial relations? Kamil and Sanu''s style in engaging the West demonstrates that, instead of staring the colonizer in the eye and undermining the success of his civilizing mission, as argued by Bhabha, they deftly manipulate a shared colonial aesthetic sensibility

and a shared language of European "civility" in feigning a kind of amorous vulnerability. This seductive dynamic is both a function and a product of Arab-Francophone identity, its attendant taste practices, and a shared Mediterranean history with porous cross-cultural and affective interactions.[251] This logic of syncretism points to the fact that Egyptian (post)colonial identity cannot be reduced to incomplete mimicry, but rather forms an abundant kaleidoscope of cultural and linguistic multiplicity, which converges in shared modern French-Egyptian histories and aesthetic continuities politically-deployed by Egypt's (post)colonial intellectual.[252] Though cultures are not opposed to each other in this syncretic paradigm, the relations of power that govern them remain divided and clearly marked, and since the nation-state is the ultimate organizer of these power-relations within any given culture and between cultures, it behooves us to study the ways in which both the colonial and the (post)colonial subjects articulate these differences (or power disparities) and inequalities (or equivalences) within the political discourses that frame their encounters. I found that the aesthetic logics of the nation-state essentializes bourgeois identity and its attendant class practices in ways that continue to demarcate power relations within and between societies. The logic of class differences persists in organizing these power relations, not only within Egypt, but outside of it as well. This simultaneously

[251] See Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 1973, 238–249. The anthropologist, Geertz, divides Arab nationalism into four phases: The first deals with the developing awareness of a collective identity based on a common destiny, and which is characterized by a true cultural revolution led by a few intellectuals.

[252] In Chapter One, we saw how French moral taste and the appeal of forms facilitated al-Tahtawi's internalization of modernity's Eurocentric discourses and epistemologies while in Paris. This was reflected in the Imam's fusion of visual detail with Enlightenment-inspired rational values and in his reconciliation of Islam with European humanist thought in his reports on the French.

disempowers and empowers the (post)colonial subject born out of syncretic cultures; for while it traps his discursive models in normalized bourgeois identity paradigms, it offers him the chess pieces necessary to play the social-relations' game embedded in all power relations. Cultural essentialism leads the (post)colonial intellectual down problematic paths as demonstrated by the dialectic of self-Othering that governs *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*. And though Ya'qub Sanu' showcases a remarkable evolution in his native-identity politics in *Abu-Nazzara al-Zarqa* and the performative Arab-sheikh identity he takes up later in his life, in his early book of poems, *L'Arabo Anziano,* his negative view of the Muslim sheikh, as an iconic figure of Arab decripitude and moral degeneracy, imprisons his vision of Arab society in the poetics of Muslim Othering and taints his reform recipe with the ideology of Orientalism. What remains constant throughout al-Muwaylihi, Sanu', and Kamil's writings is the aesthetic-based subjectivity model of the nation-state, and in fact, it is this very model that provides the ideological commonality between Europe and nationalist Egypt, insuring both the intelligibility of Egyptian bourgeois subjectivity, and its cause of independence in the face of a liberal Europe. In social relations, intelligibility and understanding often take place in the presence of sympathy, the affections, and refined sentiments of modern subjectivity. Bourdieu's wonderful analysis of the symbolic power of language in relation to class position proves useful in explaining the ways the emotive and political come together in articulating the status of civility within Egyptian-French social relations and discursive practices. Bourdieu emphasizes the status-regenerative power of the habitus, being the set of subjective behaviors and habits that make up elite and bourgeois identity. In this process, French linguistic competence constitutes a form of economic capital that

grants leverage to Sanu' and Kamil, enabling them to enter a market of foreign relations as equals. Kamil's effective linguistic communication with the French is part of a situated encounter between subjects equipped with the resources and competencies of the (post)colonial nation-state; the (post)colonial linguistic encounter with the French remains a performative[253] exchange that carry the traces of the political and socio-cultural organisms they reflect and reproduce.[254] The efficacy of Kamil and Sanu''s foreign diplomacy hinges on the political, social, and cultural institutions of French coloniality, and which determined the terms that must be satisfied for effective rapport to take place. Bourdieu uses the term "institution" as any "durable set of social relations" which grants individual subjects power, status, and different resources, providing the speaker with authority and credibility, which I find highly representative of the aesthetic education of the Egyptian nation-state and the syncretic social and cultural environment where al-Muwaylihi, Kamil, and Sanu' developed their identities. It is important to conceive of the habitus, being like a social compass, as a tool that gives the Egyptian Francophone (post)colonial subject *le sens pratique des choses* (a practical sense of things) or a "feel of the game." This proves highly resourceful in foreign politics as I will show below.

Another significant concept in Bourdieu's theory of distinction relates to the social direction or the practical sense of things as being an embodied state of being, perceiving the body as an inventory of inculcated behaviors and habits. Bourdieu defines class distinction in the same terms Terry Eageleton and Paul de Man define the aesthetic

[253] See J. L. Austin 1980

[254] Bourdieu 1984.

ideology of the nation-state, making class distinction the ultimate expression of national citizenship; for he goes so far as to state that the "bodily hexis [embodied dispositions of the habitus] is political mythology realized, embodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking,"[255] which concurs with the way bourgeois hegemony operates within state-institutions. Social dispositions are part of an economic structure which treats the habitus as investable capital potentially regenerative of interests, privileging individuals (postcolonial subjects) already endowed with the appropriate social and cultural dispositions in the market. In this context, the French language for Kamil and Sanu' is nothing more than a resource for producing such things as tact, seduction, and praise, likely to generate exponential political returns. In this process, Kamil's double gender politics, Enlightenment rhetoric, presumptuous, and flowery mode of addressing Juliette Adam enter within an intricate postcolonial strategy, adopting French culture and rhetoric in ways that ensure equivalence with the West through a linguistic practice of distinction, an act which also justifies his double-discursive gender practice. Indeed, Mustapha Kamil's effendi-class dispositions were aligned with his gender and family politics at home, and while he addressed the French journalist, Madame Juliette Adam as a mentor and protector, domestically, Mustapha Kamil promoted gender separation and thought the home was the woman's ideal place. In doing this, he saw men and women as intellectual equals but suited for different vocations; so he encouraged education for both sexes, and in fact, though he is often hailed as the symbol of national

[255] Ibid., 190-193.

independence and anti-colonial militance, he was one of the main symbols of an European-inspired *effendi* identity in Egypt with all the socio-cultural and gendered family structures and relations it entailed. Egypt's class of effendiyya saw him as a model masculine subject in the nationalist discourse,[256] and in fact, following his premature death in 1908, the effendiyya fixated on him as the ultimate symbol of national masculinity, inscribing him with qualities that depict him as both modern and thoroughly Egyptian. The formulation of Kamil as a sign of Egyptian masculinity was in reaction to the British colonial rhetoric that emasculated and degraded Egyptians, but it also worked to consolidate the effendiyya's self-image as a sophisticated social group entrusted with a national mission[257]. It is important to note here that Kamil's national value was assessed through the way he deployed his education in the service of the nation, and in this process, his mode of patriotism reflected the Egyptian effendi's ability to vie with the bourgeois European at the level of moral taste. Kamil was configured as an ideal masculine subject and agent of the nation whose bourgeois identity and moral taste inspired the class of the effendiyya to stake their claims to patriarchal authority, thereby resisting British colonial subordination and tutelage while interweaving respectable Egyptian masculinity in the narrative of Egyptian progress. It is urgent here to conceive of Kamil as a great political and social strategizer who grasped the ideological dimension of the European habitus, which explains his remarkable fluidity when dealing with Adam, a progressive working woman who nevertheless operates within a field of highly-organized and divided social structures---

[256] Wilson Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 44-64.
[257] Shortly after Mutafa's death in 1908, his brother compiled and published a biography of Kamil, *Mustafa Kamil Pasha fi 34 Rabi`an*. See Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 51-56

divided along rigid social and moral codes. In this context, Kamil's insistence on Egyptian society's division of gender roles and his aversion to women's employment and unveiling come in stark contrast with his relaxed gender politics abroad, switching socio-cultural codes in ways that strove to keep the private realm of the Egyptian family distinct from its Western model.

Kamil's relationship with the French press had started when he was a student of law in Toulouse where he was publishing articles on the Egyptian question in *La Gazette de Toulouse* (1907-1934). The young Kamil won *La Gazette*'s admiration and respect due to his political genius, making its publishers write on his character and achievements as the spokesman of Egyptian independence. *La Gazette* turns Kamil's character into an ethnographic proxy of Francophone Egypt in ways that reveal the friendly political relation France had with Egypt, but what I find curious in *La Gazette*'s rhetoric is the prizing of Kamil's aesthetic-based subjectivity in terms of the cross-cultural, historical, and aesthetic relationship that ties France to Egypt, persisting in qualifying his sensibilities as Eastern. The passage below is governed by a politic of colonial tutelage and an intellectual kinship that France discursively establishes with Egypt, and while France's role in Egypt's modernity is being highlighted through French colonial tutelage, the ancient history of Egypt is equally invoked as a cause for Kamil's genius. France is granting civilizational equivalence to Egypt by ascribing Kamil's high intelligence to this temperate weather (like France's) and by invoking Egypt's ancient past. But as the passage below shows, France's relationship to Egypt is revealed more than a relationship of colonial tutelage, and as argued

in Chapter Two, *La Gazette* illustrates France's aesthetic and historic valorization of Egypt, making it as much a statement about French character as it is about (post)colonial Egypt:

> Amongst the students who passed the law examinations is an Egyptian young man with the name Mustapha Kamil…in fact, one meets such rare intelligence with great surprise, however, our readers should not be surprised, for Egypt's past contains many great scientific theories, which shows the level of progress that the Egyptians have reached in terms of sciences and knowledge and the sophistication of their faculties eons ago. Our French compatriots have lived among Egyptians and mixed with its sons, as their teachers, and they have composed many books on their treasured minds until they prized Egyptian intelligence over all types. And it seems that the temperate climate [of Egypt] is one of the causes that have led to this rare intelligence among Egyptians, and in fact, a nation like this one [Egypt] has great historical fame in addition to the keenness shown by its sons for France and their unequivocal desire to learn its modern sciences from its abundant sources. And it [Egypt] will no doubt recuperate its glory thanks to those sons whom we greatly admire and deeply respect.[258]

La Gazette normalizes the bourgeois status of the (post)colonial Egyptian intellectual who is prized as an authentic Egyptian who represents Egypt's ancient history and Eastern culture as native identity, and who displays the qualities of the modern citizen having learned modern sciences and republican values from France. And despite the patronizing tone of these lines, underscoring Egypt's position of being on the path to nationhood, just a few lines below, Kamil claimed as one of France's educated children with pride while his sentiments are qualified as Eastern:

> The reader should not forget that Mustapha displays complete purity in his statements and deeds and that his heart is still pure and generous. Moreover, his Eastern education and manners and his friendly bewitching eyes have refined his Western knowledge in a way that we have rarely seen in our lives. The city of Toulouse prides itself on having such a young man pure of heart, possessing all the beautifying attributes of knowledge, culture and good judgment, graduate from one of its universities.[259]

[258] From an article that appeared in La Gazette de Toulouse, found and translated from Arabic in 'Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi'i, *Mustafa Kamil,* 1984, 36.

These lines establish the Eastern origin of Kamil's character---a character bourgeois in its education, but persists in qualifying his culture as Eastern, taking care to contain Kamil's aesthetic side within the Eastern field of sensibility. It is important, however, to remember that France's support of Egyptian independence comes from Kamil's proven competence in French law and the precociousness with which he expresses French republican values, that is the skill and natural ease with which he expresses his aesthetic subjectivity. His exotic appearance is prized through the filter of French moral taste despite praising his ethical purity and mannerisms as products of Eastern culture, persisting in qualifying his knowledge as Western and his refined character as Eastern. Despite the problematic masculine epistemology that governs this categorization, it reveals Egypt's aesthetic place in the French imaginary and the alluring impact Eastern culture has on the mind of the French subject of the-turn-of-the-century. The place of affections and sentiments is proven highly important in the establishment of national systems and epistemologies and in the making and maintenance of alliances, and though *La Gazette* may not be aware that Kamil's exotic attraction and genius come to the fore thanks to his education in European etiquette, they still locate his allure within the field of aesthetics (his friendly, deep eyes/refined Eastern manners, moral purity); for within the cross-cultural relationship of modern coloniality, it is Kamil's bourgeois aesthetic-based subjectivity, that is his competent expression of republican values and the civilizational Anglophobic discourse he deploys in condemning British colonialism that makes him France's sweetheart. Kamil's

[259] Ibid.

history of journalistic writing in Egypt shows how entrenched the aesthetic subjectivity of the nation-state is, going so far as to compose pedagogical articles and dialogues for Egypt's children to enforce the subjective identity of the citizen through the very terms of moral taste.

Also, the effendiya's obsession with moral taste and education in particular as a way to achieve equal civil status with Europe is due to the British perception of Egyptian peasant children as suited to agricultural work while also arguing that Egyptian parents' inability to pay for education meant a lack of desire to pursue an education.[260] The efforts of Kamil in reforming the educational system and in diffusing his pedagogy as much as possible form a backlash against British policy makers who put restrictions upon the national educational system to maintain Egypt's "agricultural spirit" and curb the development of an educated class while fixating on native Egyptian social and family practices as primitive and inadequate.[261] Egyptian nationalists, reformers, and intellectuals alike strove to enact change in child-rearing and education with the goal of building the nation[262], and they justified these childhood modern reforms in an authentic, indigenous rhetoric taking care to fashion their own style of education after Islamic models despite following the aesthetically-bound forms of the national institutions. As mentioned in Chapter One, European moral taste infiltrated Egyptian pedagogy books since Rafa`a Rafi' al-Tahtawi's

[260] Heidi Morrison 2015, 28-33.

[261] Pollard contends that education may have "diverted energies and resources away from agriculture, threatening the supply of cotton to the mills back home." See *Nurturing the Nation*, 114-18; Wilson Jacob describes British colonial discourse on the refashioning of Egyptian effendis into obedient servants and adequate subjects supportive of founding a modern British-backing government in Egypt. See Jacob, *Working Out Egypt,* 46-49.

[262] Morrison, *Childhood and Colonial Modernity*, 14.

publication of *Murshid al-Amin* (1872). Other reformers like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad `Abduh, Rashid Rida, `Abdallah al-Nadim, Qasim Amin, and Taha Husayn all ligitimated modern child-rearing practices by relying on modern interpretations of their Islamic heritage. In doing this, they highlighted the importance of inculcating children with good morals at a young age , the youth being the "surrogates of the nation,"[263] and though *adab* literature was discursively brought in as the main source of instruction on the cultivation of good manners, hygiene, and proper conduct, as long as these pedagogues and intellectuals sought the formation of educated new, modern citizens whose superior values and conduct scaffolded and strengthened the collective national body,[264] they could not avoid the aesthetic ideology of the nation state and the class dispositions it promotes as I note in Mustapha Kamil's pedagogy.

In February 1893, Mustapha Kamil founded the nationalist journal, *al-Madrasa* [265](The school), which helped him diffuse his political ideas and galvanize national feeling among young students. He achieved this by recognizing the central place of childhood in the making of good citizens and in directly addressing the hearts and minds of his young readership through inclusive dialogues. Within the pages of this journal, patriotic sentiment

---

[263] Ibid., 24.

[264] Morrison elaborates on all the points found here in her first chapter titled, "Reforming Childhood in the Context of Colonialism," in *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt*, 23- 42

[265] Mustafa Kamil's life and politics as leader of the *Watani* Party has been extensively studied. Notable sources include `Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi`i, *Mustafa Kamil* 1984; Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski, *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs*, 1986; Arthur Goldschmidt, "The Egyptian Nationalist Party: 1892-1919" in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, 1968, 308-33; and Hourani, "Egyptian Nationalism," in *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 199-209. Also see Kamil's biography published and edited by his brother, `Ali Fahmy Kamil, *Mustafa Kamil Pasha fi 32 rabi'an*, 1908.

fused with morals, following prescriptive formulas that linked the internal lives and private spaces of Egypt's children with the public sphere of the nation-state and its institutions. The first edition of the journal bore the slogan, "Love your school, Love your People, Love your Nation," while following editions contained articles, nationalist formulas, and conversations between teachers and pupils and community members discussing topics like patriotic love and sacrifice, education, wealth, equality, among others. [266]

Kamil followed prevailing concepts on childhood and youthhood and emphasized the significance of these two phases in development while prescribing bourgeois formulas for child-rearing, education, and work, incorporated within Egyptian patriotism. He urged the need to insure children's happiness by protecting them and stressed the importance of adequate rearing through good manners. The protection of Egypt's children for him depends on sticking to socially-demarcated environments that ensure the lack of mixture with morally-degenerate children. This concept goes along with hygiene and good nutrition---responsibilities that fall upon the shoulders of parents. Many of these articles read like etiquette manuals where formulas for family and individual behavior proposed to reform the individual and society and secure social mobility--- a social mobility that secures national prosperity. Youthhood, in particular, was for Kamil a stage where acquiring a modern education, taking up a respectable profession, and paying deference to authority constituted the ultimate service of the nation and worked to infuse it with youthful

[266] The first edition of *al-Madrasa* was published on February 13, 1893. Every published edition can be found in Kamil, *`Awraq Mustafa Kamil*, 1986, 12-71.

vigor. In the fourth issue of *al-Madrasa*[267] published in May 1893, Kamil laid out these ideas in an article titled, "The Phases of Life."

> The phase of childhood is the one where happiness or unhappiness depends on the child's upbringing and education. If the child is brought up well and is given essential and necessary knowledge and lessons in good manners, then the child will turn out well. The child at this phase has no responsibilities, for they all fall on his parents. They have to provide completely for the cultivation of both his body and mind. They do this by taking care of his health, by providing him with regular meals, and by making sure he does not mingle with other badly-brought up children, because they will teach him bad behavior…If they take care of him and bring him up properly and give him sufficient attention, not only will they secure a good future and plenty of prosperity for their offspring, they will provide the offspring of their offspring with those good qualities…It is needless to say that this phase is the most important. The phase of youthhood begins at the end of the first phase and finishes between his thirties and forties. This is the phase where one discovers his talent in arts, industry, or other professions for the benefit of his people and country (baladuhu). The young man obeys and complies with the authority of his guardians who strive to cultivate his success and happiness. It is essential for him to not strive toward anything except learning and work with diligence and seriousness to obtain his education and preserve his knowledge and morals. The youth completes his schooling in the first half of this momentous phase and spends the latter half in making his own living retaining what he learned in his schooling. Most youth (al-shabaab) complete this stage by marrying. remembering from their early education their diligent duty to choose a good wife.[268]

In the following dialogue from the second edition published in March 1893, a teacher explains to Ahmad, his student, *al-Madrasa*'s slogan by stressing the place of education and by implementing familial metaphors to promote love, loyalty, and obedience to the nation:

> Teacher: Have you read the journal [al-Madrasa], Ahmad?
> Ahmad: I read it, Sir.

[267] Kamil included dialogues in nearly every edition of al-Madrasa, modeled on those found in *al-`Ustadh*, which drew the attention of `Abdullah Nadim who counseled the young publisher on strategies to advance his political agenda. Background on the founding of *al-Madrasa* and the relationship between Nadim and Kamil is discussed in al-Rafi`i's, *Mustafa Kamil*, 34-38; and Fahmy's, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 67.

[268] *al-Madrasa*, May 17, 1893, in Kamil, `Awraq vol. 1, 34-35.

Teacher: Did you understand its contents?
Ahmad: I understood it well with the exception of one sentence written on the cover.
Teacher: and what's that sentence?
Ahmad: It says sir, "Love your School, Love your People, Love your Nation."
Teacher: Why didn't you understand it?
Ahmad: Because I didn't know the meaning of the word nation (al-watan).
Teacher: Why do you think this sentence is on the cover?
Ahmad: It seems to me that it is an important sentence.
Teacher: If it is important, then why are you late to ask me about it?
Ahmad: I was prevented by the sickness of one of my relatives, otherwise I would have sought out the meaning of everything important.
Teacher: You're excused this time, Ahmad, but do not wait to ask me about the meaning of difficult words and sentences in the future. So I will explain the meaning of the word *al-watan*. You know well, son, that your family is made up of your father, your mother, your brothers, your sisters, your close relatives, and your servants, all living together. The rest of the people in the world are no different, for they live together as families whether it be in Cairo, Alexandria, Damietta, Rasheed, Mansoura, Tanta, Asyut, Sohag, etc… and in the urban and rural areas, it is no different either, for these make up the different regions of the country (al-aqtar) of Egypt. This is your nation (watan), and it is your obligation to love it as much as you love your family.
Ahmad: Are all people in the world a nation (watan) like this?
Teacher: Yes, all the nation's [Egypt] people make up part of the Arab peoples which form a part of a bigger Arab nation (bilad al-Arab), and Khalid is Turkish; so he is a part of the nation of Turks, and Umar is Sudanese, which is part of the nation of Sudan, etc…
Ahmad: If Egypt is my nation (watani), then why do I have to love it? and if it is necessary to love it, how do I do this?
Teacher: It is necessary to love the nation because it is like a mother who has affection for her children who are members of the same family, breathing the same air, eating the same food, and drinking the same water, the same way brothers drink the Nile water of their motherly nation. This means that to love the nation is to seek to benefit it and provide good to it.[269]

Kamil reiterated similar themes throughout multiple editions of *al-Madrasa*, but over time, he intensified the characterization of national youth as an educated, refined, and responsible individual, committed to the future of the nation. Kamil infused his patriotism

[269] *al-Madrasa*, March 19, 1893, in Kamil, `Awraq vol I, 22-25.

with moral taste, emphasizing the place of good manners in his patriotic writings beginning in the sixth edition of *al-Madrasa* in September 1893.

> It has been taken for granted among intellectuals that education goes hand in hand with good manners, but in reality, intellectuals solely emphasize education when it comes to reform. However, history often witnessed that if the world did not possess good manners/refinement, then the damage inflicted on the nation as a whole would be great indeed, a nation whose members are the ones running the country. Wise rulers and philosophers have agreed that the damage caused by one well-mannered ignorant person is smaller than the damage done by an unrefined intellectual. Therefore, our primary goal should be instructing our youth in good manners, which is why we provide in every issue of our journal one or two passages about obedience and refinement. In about five or six months, we wish to combine them into a useful guide with conversations that could be used as a foundation for refining our sons. This work will also help the intellectuals, literati, and poets of our country.[270]

Kamil's emphasis on good manners in the formation of state-oriented and class-based aesthetic subjectivity transposed into his French foreign politics in the form of French rhetoric and well-enacted social etiquette. In cultivating and nurturing French allies, Kamil ingeniously adopted a seductive discourse while taking care to retain ambivalence, and while communicating with Madame Juliette Adam, he managed to appeal to her feminine sensibility by articulating a vision of Egypt inspired by the French Republic and in the guise of French taste. In this, he did not deviate far from his national domestic pedagogy, yet by adapting to French relaxed gender norms, he was applying a gender double standard. Juliette Adam was a useful contact for Kamil in his fight for national independence from Britain; so his flexible gender attitude and careful enactment of taste through refined speech and sophisticated mannerisms, and discipline formed part of a decisive encounter whose success hinged on his competent performance of bourgeois subjectivity. Kamil's success

[270] Ibid., 25.

in drawing Madame Adam to his cause is apparent in the many French contacts she helped him secure and her provision of a journalistic platform for his patriotic writings. The terms of the Kamil-Adam relationship are intriguing as they help unravel a politically-shrewd and sleek side in Kamil. Adam was an important journalistic figure in the French leftist press and a prominent Paris-salon lady whom he treats, not only on equal terms, but with significant deference and amiability, deliberately assuming the role of her journalistic protege and apprentice, and frequenting many gender-mixed salons in her company. Kamil did this as he continued to promote gender separation at home and the suitability of the domestic vocation for Egypt's women. Kamil's relationship with Madame Adam is revealed to be exceptional, straying away from the conservative gender politics he advocates at home, carrying himself in the customary French bourgeois manner and addressing her with a highly seductive rhetoric. Aided with an incredible mastery of French, his mode of addressing her closely mirrors the logic of colonial seduction Shaden Tageldin describes in *Disarming Words* (2011), but Kamil inverts the seductive relational dynamic that governs Tageldin's theory of the post-Napoleonic French-Egyptian encounter, for it is France this time who succumbs to the aesthetic charms of her postcolonial subject and not the reverse. Kamil and Sanu''s postcolonial embourgeoisement emerges within the performative rhetorical practices of their external politics to a great extent. To claim that the French were seduced by the aesthetically-inclined discourse and practices of two postcolonial Egyptian subjects likewise behooves a brief mention of the Egyptological/Orientalist relationship of desire that tied France to Egypt in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. The French had been impacted by the

aesthetics of the East for over two centuries, a fact which made them extremely receptive to Egypt's intellectuals when they addressed them in the guise of French and its affective and aesthetic rhetorical modes.[271] It seems both Kamil and Sanu' had internalized French taste while maintaining a degree of strategic detachment, that is the ability to switch cultural and ideological codes between their Francophone and Arab-Egyptian identities as the situation dictates. To be strategically-detached for Kamil, for example, entails his espousal of French gender norms in France without letting his domestic politics change as a result. Sanu' embraces the Muslim sheikh sartorial "Muslim" appearance without ever converting to Islam, maintaining a strategic detachment that also helped him effectively navigate the social environment of his Parisian liberal circle of allies. This political tactic helped both Kamil and Sanu' secure French support for Egypt's cause of independence from Britain. As explained earlier, this does not deny their true imbibement with French culture, but rather points to their possession of a double identity, both Arab and Francophone and a deep understanding of taste as an emotive, and transcultural networking device, not just within individual cultures, but also between East and West that can be economically invested in foreign relations.

One key goal of Egypt's nationalist movement was garnering the support of European public opinion about the problems of the British occupation in Egypt. Egypt's nationalists implemented this tactic in order to force Britain out of Egypt, and in truth, Mustafa Kamil (1874) and Ya'qub Sanu' (1839-1912) were at the forefront of Egypt's

[271] See Shaden Tageldin, *Disarming Words,* 2011.

cause in France. Two great propagandists, they helped influence European perceptions of Egypt and the British occupation. Sanu‘ lived in France from 1877 until his death in 1912, and he consistently presented lectures to French audiences on subjects related to Egypt and Islam. Sanu’’s strategy consisted in singing the praises of French culture and attacking the British in all his lectures and articles. While in Paris, he published *Abu-Naddara Zarqa’* and *L’Univèrs Musulman,* two illustrated periodicals in both French and Arabic.[272] He made perfect use of political cartoons, which often baited the Anglophobia of the French, and he knew how to use his newspapers to draw the mainstream French press into publishing articles helpful to the Egyptian cause.

Mustafa Kamil’s campaign for Egypt’s independence made him launch two versions of his *al-Liwa* (Standard) newspaper in both English and French *(L’ Étendard Egyptienne*).[273] Kamil and Sanu’’s strategies in launching their European media campaigns depended on their manipulation of European colonial rivalries, Francophile appeals to their

[272] *Abu-Naddara Zarqa’* means “The Man with the Blue Glasses” in colloquial Egyptian. The first issue appeared on 21 March 1877. Initially it was an Arabic newspaper, but by 1885 it was equally divided between a French and an Arabic section. For an analysis of the newspaper, see Eliane Ursula Ettmüller, *The Construct of Egypt’s National-Self in James Sanua’s Early Satire and Caricature*. *L’Univèrs Musulman*, published from 1907 to 1910, was entirely written in French and primarily targeted a European audience.Like Sannu‘, Mustafa Kamil spent a great deal of time publicizing Egyptian nationalist claims to European audiences. From 1895 until his unexpected death in 1908, Kamil wrote many articles and editorials in European newspapers including *Le Figaro, L’Éclair*, L*e Journal des Debats*, *Revue des Deux Mondes, the Times*, and *Nouvelle revue*: see also Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt and Cromer*, 1969, 157.

[273] ‘Abd al-Rahman Al-Rafa‘i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 1985, 26–27. Mustapha Kamil was greatly influenced by ‘Abdallah Nadim who profited from Abbas Hilmi II’s support of the political press. The death of Tewfiq in early 1892 and the ascension of his son `Abbas Hilmi II to Egypt’s throne reinvigorated the political press. `Abbas encouraged, protected, and funded the press to consolidate his power against the British in Egypt. ‘Abbas reached out to Egyptian nationalists and pardoned exiled and incarcerated nationalist journalists such as `Abdallah Nadim. Once he returned to Egypt in the spring of 1892, `Abdallah Nadim almost immediately began publishing the journal, *al-‘Ustadh* (The professor/teacher). he stressed the role of teachers as paramount to direct Muslim youth and incorporate them into the nation’s cultural, social and political projects.

audiences, seductive poetics, and their opportunistic deployment of Anglophobic discourse. Sanu''s rich ethnic background attests to the multiculturalism and eclecticism of Egypt's Mediterranean environment. His father was an Italian Jew from Leghorn who immigrated to Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century to become appointed advisor to Prince Ahmad Pasha Yeken, Muhammad Ali's grandson. Fluent in Arabic, Hebrew, Italian, French, and English, he was sent to pursue his education in Italy, and upon his return to Egypt in 1855, he became a teacher of languages at the military Polytechnic institute[274]. Sanu''s connection to French culture was also consolidated by his earlier connection with the Francophile Khedive Ismail (1863-79)[275] who later sponsored what was to become Sanu''s and Egypt's first Arab theater company in 1870. Most of Sanu''s plays were in colloquial Egyptian Arabic and conveyed nationalistic themes.[276] His theatrical style permeated all his writings as manifested in his satirical sketches of characters in his journal, *Abu-Naddara,*[277] which he continued to distribute while in exile in France, successfully smuggling it into Egypt.[278] In 1885, the newspaper was divided

[274] Matti Moosa 1974, 402; Gendzier, *Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'*,16–17.

[275] The khedive Ismail was called the Haussman of Egypt, as he is responsible for the European urban development of Cairo and the importation of Italian and French structural designs into Egypt's urban spaces.

[276] Jacque Chelley, "Le Molière Egyptien," AbuNaddara, 1 August, 1906; Atia Abul Naga, *Les sources françaises du théâtre egyptien (1870–1839)*, 1972, 76; Najwa Ibrahim' Anus, *Masrah Ya'qub Sannu'*, 1984, 31–33; Moosa, "Ya'qub Sanu', 404–5; Jacob Landau, *Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema*, 1969, 65–67; Gendzier, *Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu',* 34–38.

[277] His satirical sketches of the Khedive Ismail's government led to a rift between them and to his eventual exile to France on 22 June, 1878. See Gendzier, *Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu',* 65. Also on the subject, "Voyons, Molière, si vous n'avez pas les reins assez solides pour contenter plus d'une femme, il ne faut pas en dégoûter les autres," a statement by the khedive to Sanu' cited in Jacques Chelley's, "Le Molière égyptien" In Abū Naddara, 7 september, 1906, 29.

equally between French and Arabic sections[279] and managed to reach influential anti-British journalists and anticolonial liberals in Europe. This increased his publicity in Parisian society, making him more exposed to important French circles and more visible in the French press. His popularity helped him give lectures and conference presentations about Egypt and Islam[280], and his notoriety among the French grew to such a degree that a fire in his Paris apartment was atypically covered by important French newspapers, including *Le Temps.*[281]

Kamil's foreign approach in securing liberal European allies resembled Sanu''s to a great extent, and like him, Kamil's external politics constituted an important campaigning front for Egypt's independence. However, Kamil's relationship with the French liberal press reveals a sleeker, more seductive, and strategic side, making use of his French eloquence and charms to lure the French into supporting his cause. In his epistolary communication with the French author, Madame Juliette Adam, Kamil is revealed to be a smooth seducer who falls back on a tactic of ambivalent love semantics in his letters, which helped him secure her feminine alliance. In one of his letters to Adam, he expresses his goal of driving the British out of Egypt by means of a liberal Enlightenment discourse, referring to his future vision of his native country in illustrious nationalistic terms characteristic of French political thought: "J'ai plus que jamais l'espoir que notre pays sera

[278] *Times*, 12 March, 1885. According to Gendzier, Sannu' "had smuggled his newspaper into Egypt by hiding copies in the pages of larger illustrated reviews, books, and art albums." See Gendzier, P*ractical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'*, 70.

[279] See *Abu-Naddara*, 10 January 1885–10 December 1910.
[280] *Le Courrier de France*, September 1895, quoted in *Abu-Naddara*, 25 September 1895.

[281] See *Le Temps*, 13 June 1895; *Abu-Naddara*, 15 July 1895.

un jour ce qu'il a été autrefois: le pays de la lumière et de la gloire éternelle!"[282]. There is significant chivalry in the notion of eternal glory, going back to the late-medieval aristocratic class culture in France delineated by Norbert Elias in *The Civilizing Process* (1939), and Kamil's use of this kind of rhetoric illustrates, in addition to his imbibement with the Enlightenment ideals of the French Revolution and the French republic, his participation in the rhetorical tradition of the Franks as a mark of culture and education. Bourdieu talks about socio-linguistic practices as a form of symbolic capital due to their potential investment in the social networks conducive to social advancement and upward mobility. Kamil keeps up with a class-oriented mode of judgment that is most appealing to Madame Adam, for he expresses his enjoyment of the writing style of one of her journal's student writers, combining flattery with a display of personal taste in matters of style, thought, and diction. Kamil seems to be aware that this epistolary gesture is a sign of character depth and class kinship necessary for maintaining and solidifying relations within French high society. He, therefore, declares, "J'ai lu, avec le plus grand plaisir, l'article "l'Ecole des bavards" de Léon Daudet dans le Gaulois : quel esprit et quel style!"[283] We saw earlier how Isa and the Pasha's ability to judge activities, concepts, and objects beautiful in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*, presupposes the possession of sound judgment, which constitutes in al-Muwaylihi's reform formula a civilizational marker necessary for the attainment of liberty and progress. Kamil's participation in this class game is but a strategy for securing French support for his cause and a great proof of his possession of a double-

[282] See Mustafa Kamil, *Lettres Egyptiennes*, 1909, 16, 69-70; and Adam, *L'Angleterre en Egypte*, 146–47.

[283] Ibid.

identity, capable of not only internalizing French culture, but competent in the political recycling of its socio-political values in the service of Egypt.

In fact, Mustafa Kamil was quite ambitious from an early age; for he belonged to a growing and upwardly mobile Egyptian middle class and despite lacking khedival connections while growing up, his father was an Egyptian army engineer who encouraged his son to receive a good education. As a precocious teenager, Kamil participated in Egyptian politics and journalism by establishing a few school organizations, of which *Jam'iat Ihya' al-Watan* (Society for the Revival of the Nation) was the most important. In 1891, he joined the Khedival Law School where he continued to pursue his nationalistic activities[284] where he met Abbas Hilmi II who enlisted his support in mobilizing Egyptian anti-British nationalist feelings and sponsored his nationalist activities and law education in France.[285] He was transparent with the Egyptian people about his external political strategy, and he declared in an article he composed in *al-Mu'ayyid* newspaper,[286] "The wise among the British have realized the danger of their occupation of Egypt. What they need to know is the true feelings of the Egyptian nation, its fears, hopes, and the truth. This would force their government to evacuate the Nile Valley. The best thing that we Egyptians

[284]See Mustafa Kamil, *Awraq Mustafa Kamil*, 1982,136. Also see Al-Rafi'i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 24–29, 31–48.

[285] Marsot, *Egypt and Cromer, 156–57*; Lord Cromer, *Abbas II*, 1915, 1–10; Jacques Berque, *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution*, 1972, 63–169. Abbas II first met with Kamil in an official visit he made to the Khedival Law School on 28 November 1892; See also *Abbas Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt*, 1998, 136. Abbas sponsored Kamil's continuing law education in Toulouse, where he received his law degree in November 1894.

[286]See *Al-Ahram*, 28 December 1894; 4 January 1895; 28 January 1895; 4 February 1895; 23 February 1895; 4 March 1895. Kamil composed nationalist articles in the local press in 1893. See *Al-Ahram*, 11 February 1893; 16 February 1893; 24 February 1893; 8 March 1893; 20 April 1893; 20 July 1894; 31 July 1894; 3 August 1894; 1 September 1894; 8 September 1894.

can do now is to advertise the truth to Europe with as many languages as possible, especially in English and French."[287] In keeping with the shared aesthetic sensibilities between the French and the Francophone Egyptian intellectual, Kamil's approach in his external politics attests not only to having a double Franco-Egyptian identity, but to a highly-refined sense of taste manifested in his excellent command of French and a deep insight into the mechanics of seduction. This side in Kamil's personality is explicit in the letters he sent Madame Juliette Adam, his greatest supporter and ally in Paris. The young Kamil, for he was in his early twenties when he initiated an epistolary relationship with Adam,[288] is revealed to be a Don Juan, a charmer and flatterer who deftly navigates the risque business of seduction without violating propriety. This approach proved effective, for Madame Adam held the gates of French society wide and open to him, giving him great journalistic and social exposure. Presumably understanding the impropriety of engaging in an open politic of seduction with Madame Juliette Adam, a woman forty years his senior, he employs a great deal of ambivalence in his romantic approach. In his first letter to her, he sings the praises of the French values of democracy and liberty while requesting to use her newspaper as a platform for his Egyptian campaign. He also uses a high degree of sentimentality by comparing her nobility of character to that of his mother, putting himself in a position of admirer and protegé, a status not hard to grant given Kamil's genius and precociousness. Subsequently, Madame Adam was quite flattered and declared in her

[287] *Al-Mu'ayid*, 5 August 1895 cited in Al-Rafi'i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 60. Working towards the success of his end, Kamil spent every summer from 1895 to 1907 in France publicizing his mass media campaign.

[288] Juliette Adam, *L'Angleterre en Egypte*, 1922, 144–45; Al-Rafi'i, *Mustafa Kamil*, 51–54; Marsot, *Egypt and Cromer*,156–57.

memoirs: "I really began to fulfill my maternal role vis-à-vis this very young man who championed a great cause. I introduced him to many prominent and valuable men who are interested in Egypt . . . his favorites were Pierre Loti and General Marchand[289] . . . I also introduced him to other valuable contacts within the French press."[290] Madame Adam (Fig 2.)[291] was editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, an anti-British French periodical, and an influential woman who hosted a literary salon in Paris regularly attended by many prominent journalists and political figures. She held the young Kamil in great regard and developed a weakness for his cause, and though Kamil and Adam never openly spoke of any romantic attachment to each other, Kamil's mode of addressing her often hinted at an attraction he expressed with a great deal of ambiguity, making him highly seductive. Kamil's relationship with Madame Adam started with him pleading to have the opportunity to write on Egypt's cause for independence in French liberal newspapers. The many letters that they exchanged form the substance of a book entitled *Lettres Egyptiennes*, and where Kamil started every letter to Juliette Adam with the address, *Madame et Bien-Aimée Directrice* (madam and beloved director in the feminine). Several letters in *Lettres Egyptiennes* contain what I consider a non-equivocal rhetoric of seduction on Kamil's part.

---

[289] These names included leading French editors and writers such as Edouard Drumont (editor of *La Libre Parole*), Ernest Judet (editor of *Le Petit Journal* and *L'Éclaire*), and Henri Rochefort (founder and editor of *L'Intransigeant*). Kamil would make good use of his contacts with the French press until his death in 1908.

[290] Pierre Loti (1850–1923) is the pseudonym of Louis Marie Julien Viaud. He was an Orientalist French novelist who was facinated by life in the Middle East. He dedicated his book about Egypt, *La mort de Philae*,to Mustafa Kamil. General Marchand was a captain when Kamil first met him. He would later lead the French expeditionary force at Fashoda. See Mustafa Kamil, *Lettres Egyptiennes*, 1909, 16; Adam, *L'Angleterre en Egypte*, 146–47.

[291] circa 1895, published 1908 by Chocolats Félix Potin

In a letter sent from Budapest dated June 28, 1900, I noted Kamil's use of vulnerability as a tactic of luring Madame Adam into further supporting his cause.

> Je suis heureux de savoir que vous êtes en parfaite santé : c'est pour moi la chose la plus précieuse en France ! Et, veuillez croire que si je vais maintenant a Paris chaque année, c'est pour vous voir, vous, la seule personne qui représentez à mes yeux l'ancienne France, la France de la bravoure et de l'héroïsme ! [292]

This tactic of vulnerability is also manifested in his frequent reminders of having Madame Adam in his thoughts, maintaining thus a feeling of closeness with her. He took care to write her on her birthdays and to send the kindest, most affectionate sentiments. In a letter he sent from Constantinople dated October 3, 1902, days before Madame Adam's sixty-sixth birthday, he says, "soyez sûre, en tout cas, que parmi ceux qui penseront affectueusement à vous lundi prochain, jour anniversaire de votre naissance, j'occupe certainement la première place[293]. Mustapha Kamil's style in seducing Madame Juliette Adam is indeterminate in its appeals to her feminine affection and delicacy, but this, in no way, means that it is any less effective. In fact, ambivalence

is an indispensable component in the politics of seduction, by keeping the seduced in a position of uncertainty vis-a-vis the determinacy of that seduction. In order to understand Mustapha Kamil's appeals to Madame Adam in *Lettres Egyptiennes* as both a strategy of seduction and a high marker of a shared Francophone civility, it is important to first define ambivalence in connection to cultural interaction and class. Ambivalence lies within the

[292] Kamil, *Lettres Egyptiennes*, 1909, 66.
[293] Madame Juliette was born 1836. She was 72 at the time of receiving this letter from Kamil.

liminal space of hybridity, "the space in between the opposites, the third possibility, the

Figure 2

Figure 1

transition between inside and outside, the "neither . . . nor" or the "as well as." (61). When we ponder inbetweenness in culture, we concentrate on meanings that go beyond the neat classifications and binaries that define rationalist logics, but we also recognize that the liminal space of hybridity or inbetweenness as "essential for the construction of culture" for real experience "provides no firm ground for neat classification."[294] The sociology of ambivalence maintains that "without surprises and disturbances, communication would lack the focus that catches common attention. Without interferences from the background there would be no signal, image, or sign. [295]Without fuzziness there would be neither need nor motive to understand and interpret."[296] Ambivalence thus figures as "the indispensable

[294] See J. M Lotman, *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*, 1990, 62.
[295] See Madame Adam in Fig. 1 and Kamil in Fig. 2.

[296] Ibid.

key to the communicative reproduction of cultural order" instead of a crisis in pinning and determining meaning.[297] In this context, seduction emerges as a form of inbetweenness produced by cultural patterns of interaction; for seduction greatly depends on ambivalence, equivocality, and the space in between opposites.

Mustapha Kamil, some forty years Madame Adam's junior, must have understood that to directly express a romantic attraction for her would mean engaging in a risky affair, involving a venture outside of the principled, rational order of law and morality.[298] However, his French letters to Juliette were irresistible as demonstrated by her responsiveness to his cause and the exclusive social network she helped him access in Paris. In a letter he sent from Cairo, dated June 1st, 1901, he hints at Juliette's attraction to exotic Egypt and the special place he occupies in her heart.[299] Thus, after addressing her with his usual *Madame et bien-aimée Directrice* (Madam and beloved director), he initiates his letter with a complaint arising from her lack of correspondence, "Depuis une éternité vous ne m'avez pas donné de vos nouvelles," coyly arguing that " je crois que la Grèce vous a tellement séduite que je n'ai plus de place dans votre cœur si tendre pour les patriotes," using himself the verb "seduire" in reference to Adam's feelings of attraction towards the East. Fully aware that he occupies a place in her heart, he openly expresses feelings of jealousy towards another "Oriental" Other, the Greek, but conscious for the need to maintain ambivalence, he then softens his description with "votre coeur si tendre pour les

---

[297] Ibid., 63.

[298] See J. Baudrillard, *Seduction*, 1990.
[299] See Bernhard Giesen 2015, 66-67.

patriotes," taking care to qualify her attraction as only political. [300] He often builds momentum through expressing his anticipation of seeing her by means of such statements as, "Les mots me manquent pour exprimer la grande joie que je ressens à l'idée de vous voir prochainement" (69-70). Ambivalence and equivocality are key in male seduction, for gestures and acts must allow for diverse interpretations, opening a space for withdrawal and retreat without direct confessions that might lead to losing face in the case of rejection. In fact, Kamil had implied having erotic desire for Juliette couched in a gesture of affectionate friendship a year prior in a letter dated May 26, 1900 he sent from Cairo where he declares, "J'ai décidé de partir pour Paris le 15 Juin pour y être le 21. Je serai très heureux de savoir si vous y serez en ce moment, car je brûle de vous voir. Nous avons tant et tant de choses à nous dire!" [301]This language is unequivocally seductive, entailing all the rhetorical devices of courtship: the seducer's promise and anticipation of the romantic encounter, the confession of desire to see the seduced, emotional vulnerability, in addition to flattery and praise as demonstrated by his admiring confession in another letter where he says, "J'admire vraiment tous ceux qui ont quelque chose de vous même! Et cette noblesse d'âme, cette grandeur dans les sentiments et ce beau et sublime patriotisme."[302] But Kamil's seductive mode of communication with Adam is not uniform, vacillating between the language of desire and maternalism. And though he painted their relationship at the beginning of their friendship as maternal, Kamil's diverse and versatile appeals to Madame Adam's delicate femininity remain seductive. Kamil seems to have conceived and

[300] Kamil, 70.

[301] Ibid., 60.
[302] Ibid., 72.

created a tempting and destabilizing environment of erotic promise for Adam despite his comparison of his devotion for her to that of his mother's. In a letter he sent from Vienna, dated July 11, 1902, he goes so far as to claim: "J'irai à Paris quand vous voudrez, car ce n'est pas cette ville qui m'attire, mais vous" (86). Madame Adam's returned affection is demonstrated by her reproaching letters at the delay in receiving word of Kamil's as implied in his appeal for her forgiveness in a letter dated May 27, 1902:

> Comment pourrais-je compter sur votre indulgence après un si long silence ? Vous m'avez écrit que je devais être mort pour m'excuser ! Eh bien non, j'ai une autre excuse qui sera certainement acceptée par vous qui êtes la meilleure des mères, ma chère mère a été malade tout cet hiver d'une maladie de cœur qui m'a fait trembler pendant quatre mois...vous comprenez donc que si j'ai beaucoup pensé à vous ; je n'ai pas eu la force de vous écrire. Mon journal a été prive de mes articles pendant longtemps aussi.[303]

There is a marked mixture of feelings and messages in this letter's language of seduction, choosing to first desist from the language of eroticism and adopt a rhetoric of maternal affection and emotional delicateness, which he then deploys in expressing a parallel suffering caused by Madame Adam's absence. He first declares that his mother's heart condition "m'a fait trembler pendant quatre mois," a position of endearing emotional vulnerability that he then consolidates with the confession: "vous comprenez donc que si j'ai beaucoup pensé à vous; je n'ai pas eu la force de vous écrire."[304] In fact, one should not be led astray by this language of maternal affection; for in the European romantic tradition, the language of male seduction often involves appeals to maternal affection and

[303] Ibid., 74.
[304] Ibid.

a male position of vulnerability akin to that of a child towards his mother. In *The Deceiver of Seville*, "the more positive dynamic of seductive rhetoric involved declarations of the emotional power that women exercise over men,"[305] and in many Spanish love letters, loving devotion is expressed in terms of infantile esteem and attachment to the mother:

> In closing a letter to his beloved Fernando Perez Manon writes 'your little son who esteems you,' ['tu hijito que te estima.'] and Jose luis de los Rios closes similarly 'You son who esteems you as you deserve' ['hijo que la estima como merece'] Thus classing their affections with the boundless devotion of a son for his mother, invoking the memories or fantasies of the early love between mother and child. The admittedly anachronistic gesture contemporary Hispanic men who often call a woman 'mamacita' (little mother), similarly recalls the same kind of blind devotion of a young son for his mother. The failure of such potentially incestuous expressions to appear in a popular play written by an orthodox cleric in an era of strict inquisitorial censorship is not surprising, but provides insight into the reversal/inversion of gender roles in courtship...Men not only assume the emotional expressive role that is customarily women's but invert the general order--a man becomes a little boy.[306]

The vulnerability and motherly devotion Kamil expresses to Madame Adam enters into the politics of nationalist support he is garnering and the mentoring role she played, thus enabling Kamil to navigate the rhetoric of his seduction with sleek ambivalence by referring to the multiple roles played by Juliette in the advancement of his cause and their supposed effect on his "impressionable" psyche. Another important feature in Kamil's excellent command of French is the moral refinement his letters communicate to Adam, and sociology does indeed establish ambivalent communication as an indicator of high civility. Ambivalence engages with complex affects and techniques and motivates the

---

[305] See Linda S. Kauffman 1986; See also Gabrielle Verdierrs 1983, pp. 45-57.

[306]See Richard Nice 1977, 44.

interpretation of indirect communication whereby the seduced strives to decode the seducer's speech and actions beyond their literal meaning. "It presupposes the courtly civilization," by being "a game of possibilities, promises, and staged authenticity among players who know they might fall victim to deception."[307] This feature of ambivalence adds to Kamil's attraction, combining it with his sleek and competent ease and facility with the language of Moliere and his skill in navigating the politics of seduction and class. Mustapha Kamil's style of addressing Madame Adam in *Lettres Egyptiennes* mirrors Egypt's postcolonial subject's embourgeoisement via the adoption of such practices as selective French diction, elocution, social decorum, manners, and styles of hospitality, which emanated originally from European aristocratic lifestyles. Kamil implements these class-oriented practices as seductive poetics of friendship with France to sustain a feeling of cultural and emotional equivalence. His manipulation of the French language and of French social etiquette points to his understanding of class taste as a civic marker of bourgeois reason and refined judgment, which constitute implied evolutionary conditions in need of being met prior to achieving Egyptian state sovereignty from Britain. Curiously, and perhaps realizing the extent at which affect is important in establishing cross-cultural rapport, Kamil deploys taste in the service of seduction.

Ya'qub Sanu''s multicultural heritage and education constitute key players in the expression of his native Egyptian identity while campaigning for Egypt's independence in France. His polyvalent ethnic and linguistic background was mirrored in his theatrical and

[307] De Laclos, C., and A. Pierre 1961, 69.

journalistic approach to a great extent earlier in his career in Egypt. What is unique in Sanu' is his constant performativity of culture and status through a syncratic Euro-Arab amalgamation of cultural, linguistic, sartorial, and literary signs that establish him as exceptional and multicultural. Sanu' goes beyond the social performance of culture required by society into a staged meta-narrative performativity of subjectivity in his plays and publications. The participation of diverse cultural histories in his theater and in his self-aggrandizing representation of individual and national identity are a product of his absorption of several Mediterranean influences. Sanu' used the theater as a nationalist front against British influence, insisting on writing his plays in the Egyptian dialect to make them accessible to all of Egypt's classes. While insisting on adopting the local dialect understood by Egypt's masses, he made references to both elite aesthetic and political authority and took advantage of French-British rivalries. In doing this, he affiliated himself with the French whose liberal politics and secularism were closer to his heart, a relationship which grew after the rift he had with the Khedive Ismail over his liberal gender politics.

The influence of European culture was first noted in Sanu''s theatrical activity, making him introduce the institution of the theater into Egypt, thereby moving the discussion of Egypt's nationalist concerns to the stage.[308] In this process, Sanu' narcissitically referenced his avant-garde role in Egypt's first Arab theater and in the contribution of the latter in state reform. French cultural influence was a source of great pride for Sanu' who deliberately drew his audiences' attention to the European origin of his inspiration. He did this through his theatrical technique of cross-cultural referentiality

[308] See Mohammed Mustafa Badawi 1985, 139

by going beyond the world of his plays into Moliere's French literary and dramatic heritage. In fact, his plays were so influenced by French theater that he was named "*le Moliere Égyptien"*[309] (the Egyptian Moliere) by Egypt's Francophile Khedive Ismail, and Sanu' went so far as to name one of his plays, *Mūlyīr Miṣr wa-mā yuqāsīhi*[310] (Egypt's Moliere and what he endures) in reference to Moliere's play, *L'impromptu de Versailles*. Moliere's play constitutes a theatrical hypotext and an example of the socio-cultural and aesthetic kinship Sanu' felt he shared with the French playwright, Moliere, by simultaneously coexisting with him in his play, *Mulyir Misr wa ma Yuqasihi*. Through a series of references and inferences to Molière's technique of *le théâtre dans le théâtre* present in *L'impromptu de Versailles,* he highlights the parallel comedic and socio-political role Sanu' plays in Egypt through his art. *Mulyir Misr* is primarily a meta text that engages with Egyptian affairs by invoking the important role Ya'qub Sanu's comedic plays in exposing Egypt's problems to the masses and as a venue for countering his critics' attacks. However, Sanu's chosen approach, like his later foreign political strategy, highlights the narcissistic side of his personality and the perceived valorizing contribution of French culture in his identity. I noted this in his mode of theatrical referentiality, in his caricatural journalistic approach in his newspaper, *Abu Naddara al-zarqa* (1878-1884), and in his

[309] See Irene L. Gendzier, *The Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu*', 1966, 36; Matti Moosa, *Ya'qûb Ṣanû' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt*, I*nternational Journal of Middle East Studies,* 5, 1974, 405. Mūlyīr Miṣr ('Molière d'Egypte') becomes Sannu's title when the Khedive Ismail (1830-1895) after seeing two of his first plays declares, " Nous vous savons gré d'avoir fondé notre théâtre national. Vos comédies, vos opérettes et vos tragédies ont initié notre peuple à l'art de la scène. Vous êtes le Molière d'Egypte et votre nom survivra"

[310] Ya'qub Ṣanu', *Mūlyīr Miṣr wa-mā yuqāsīhi*, 1912.

critique of the figure of the Muslim/Arab sheikh in his Italian book of poems, L' *Arabo* Anziano.

In *Mulyir Misr wa-ma Yuqasishi*, he names his protagonist James, which is a variant of the Hebraic name, Ya'qub, in reference to himself. James often voices the opinions of the playwright and takes care to cite his multiple talents, in imitation of Moliere's protagonist, Moliere, in his French hypotext, *L'impromptu de Versailles*. But this strategy was not totally alien to Sanu', for in classical Arabic literature, the poet often praises virtues like courage, generosity and hospitality in himself and his tribe, and Ya'qub Sanu' seems to be drawing from this tradition in megalomanically singing his own praises[311], but what strikes me in this self-aggrandizing referentiality is Moliere's looming presence and his play, *L'Impromptu de Versailles*. In this context, Ya'qub Ṣanu' introduces his character, James, who happens to be much more idealized than the character, Molière in L'impromptu de Versailles. James is loudly described by the other characters of Mulyir Misr as being generous, responsible, forgiving towards them despite their whimsical nature. Sanu' goes to great lengths to describe himself through his actors as polyvalent like Moliere (he is an actor, composer, teacher, agent and director). In terms of character, he is depicted as modest, noble, tolerant, and patient. On several occasions, the theatrical text highlights his unique character: "il n'a d'égal ni à Londres ni à Paris"[312] ; "il est unique à son époque"

[311] On the development of the Mufakhara since pre-Islamic times, see Heidi Toelle and Katia Zakaria, *A la découverte de la littérature arabe du VIe siècle à nos jours*, p. 93.

[312] Ibid., Act I, Scene I

[313]; “personne avant lui n’avait fait de théâtre arabe en Egypte” [314]; “En Egypte personne n’est généreux comme James” [315]; “Si James nous quitte, nous ne trouverons jamais un chef comme lui.”[316] The only figure comparable to Sanu’ is Moliere, as reported by the character, Stephane: both Egyptian and French newspapers testified to his unique status in Egypt, not overlooking the fact that “Lorsque notre Efendi (our Khedive) nous a vus jouer, il l’a appelé Molière Or Molière est le fondateur du théâtre français, au même titre que notre James l’est pour le théâtre arabe. À partir de ce moment-là, personne ne l’appelle plus James, mon cher, mais tous l’appellent Monsieur Molière” [317]. James, like the character-Molière in L’impromptu solicits the sympathy and reverence of his audiences : “Pensez-vous que ce soit une petite affaire que d’exposer quelque chose de comique devant une assemblée comme celle-ci, que d’entreprendre de faire rire des personnes qui nous impriment le respect et ne rient que quand ils veulent ? Est-il auteur qui ne doive trembler lorsqu’il en vient à cette épreuve ?” [318]. To counter the criticism of his opponents, Ya’qub Sanu’ cites a network of figures who support his theater. Like Moliere, he mentions three times during his play that his comedy was decreed by the king, which should silence his opponents and critics, highlighting the fact that the Khedive Isma’il defends Arabic theater. Among other things, he inserts the fact that the khedive has named James (Ya’qub) ‘le

---

[313] Ibid., Scene II

[314] Ibid.

[315] Ibid., Act II, Scene 5

[316] Ibid.

[317] Ibid., Act I, Scene II.

[318] Ibid.

Moliere d'Egypte',"[319] and he clearly enjoys the plays of Sanu'. [320] He likewise mentions that the Khedive had offered the Ezbakeya space free of charge to Sanu' for the performance of his plays. He does not forget to brag that along the khedive, other personalities support Arab theater, such as Khayri Pasha, Minister of Education, Isma'il as-Sidiq, Minister of Finance, 'Umar Bāšā al-Laṭīf, Minister of the Marines.[321] Sanu''s theater becomes the main channel for social expression in Egypt, taking thus a pedagogical and socio-political role. In fact, Europeans perceived Sanu''s theater and the Francophile, Khedive Ismail's modernizing efforts a la Francaise, as markers of Arab civility and modernity, a fact which touched Sanu' directly, making him publicize the French view that "il [the khedive Isma'il] voulut avoir un théâtre, comme les princes européens. Il fit construire, aussitôt, une charmante salle, petite, mais élégante, près de l'Esbékieh, à l'entrée du Mouski, centre de la vie et du mouvement. C'était se rapprocher de la civilisation des rois occidentaux ; c'était montrer qu'il n'était point un roi barbare, mais un lettré, un ami des arts et du progrès. " [322] Ignoring the negative dialectic of Othering contained in this view, Sanu' perceived his plays as an important channel for cultural exchange between France and Egypt and a body where several social and linguistic practices converge.[323] Greenblatt contends that cultures emerge and develop out of

---

[319] Ibid., Act I, Scene I

[320] See Robert Hunter 2000, 52; See Eward Wagner 1993, 309. In classical Arabic literature, *Higa'* (derision) is always intermingled with *Fakhr* (self-praise, also called *mufakhara*).

[321] *Mulyir Miṣr wa-mā yuqasīhi,* Act I, Scene II.

[322] Aimé Vingtrinier, *L'Egypte au XIXe siècle : histoire d'un proscrit* in Abū Naẓẓāra 5, 1899, 7

mobility, which must be understood in its literal sense to refer to travel and movement. Sanu', in fact, like Kamil, al-Tahtawi, al-Muwaylihi, and others, was a traveler, and like them, he became influenced by his exposure to many cultural influences while in Europe, which culminated in his theatrical productivity. In this regard, Sanu' shares a commonality with Marun al-Naqqash as both received an education in Italy and produced what became the Arab world's first plays.[324]

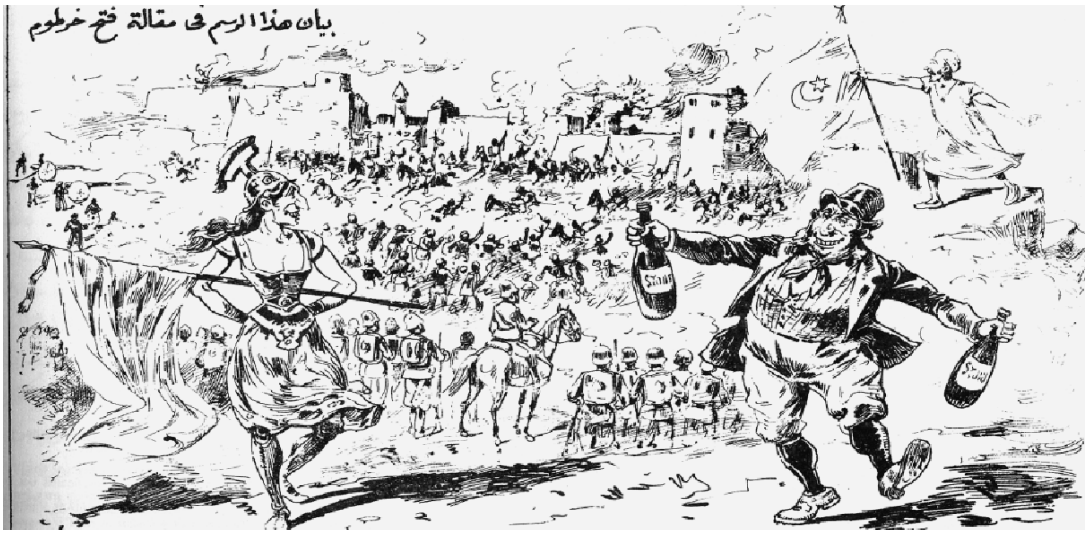

Figure 3

Ya'qub Sanu'' style in enlisting the sympathies of the French qualifies as highly theatrical and emotive, for he makes use of caricature in critiquing the politics of the British in his

[323] "Great writers are precisely… specialists in cultural exchange. The works they create are structures for the accumulation, transformation, representation, and communication of social energies and practices." See Stephen Greenblatt, *Culture in Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 1995, 225.

[324] "Mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense". Stephen Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, 250.

satirical newspaper, *Abu Naddara Zarqa*[325], always focusing on a dialectic of race and civilizational Othering. He makes use of Anglophobic discourse and recycles negative traditional British icons in the French press while praising French culture and politics. The semantics of these signs change as the conditions of his foreign politics change; for example, his British caricature in *Abu Naddara* often satirizes *la Vieux Albion* and John Bull, two famous British icons that are loaded with negative signs in the discourse of the contemporary French press. His cartoon titled "La prise de Khartoum,"[326] which appeared in the 25 September 1898 issue of *Abu-Naddara,* displays the typical portrayal of *La Vieux Albion* as a thin, evil, old woman and her son John Bull as a revolting old man. The cartoon illustrates the celebration of "La Vieux Albion" and John Bull after the 2 September 1898 British victory over the Sudanese forces. Sanu''s depiction of John Bull as an immoral inebriate reinforced a common contemporary French stereotype of the British as brutish and lacking in culture. Sanu' skillfully exploited Anglophobic French prejudice in another conversation illustrating John Bull trying to speak French, but ends up butchering he French language through his half-English/half-French phrases and his erroneous Anglicized pronunciation of French words.[327] The 1896 publication of Paul De Baignières's *L'Egypte satirique: Album d'Abou Naddara* led to Sanu''s increased visibility

[325] A*bu-Naddara Zarqa'* means "The Man with the Blue Glasses" in colloquial Egyptian. The first issue appeared on 21 March (1877). Initially it was an Arabic newspaper, but by 1885 it was equally divided between a French and an Arabic section. *L'Univèrs Musulman*, published from 1907 to 1910, was entirely written in French and primarily targeted a European audience

[326] See fig. 3

[327] Sanu's often inserted different dialects and foreign accents in his colloquial Arabic and French articles. See *Abu-Naddara,* 15 June 1894. The dialogue and its illustrative image were titled "*L'inauguration de l'exposition d'Alexandrie."*

in French society, and in Fact, the book was meant as publicity for Sanu''s work, thus including favorable clippings from major European newspapers and cartoonish illustrations from *Abu-Naddara* and other poems translated into French.[328] Dozens of European newspapers and journals reviewed Baignières's book, which Sanu' used in his self-aggrandizing publicity. Sanu' selectively printed positive sections from the reviews of Baignières's book presented in *La Lanterne, Le Gaulois, La France, Le Constitutionnel,* and *L'organe des concours poétique.*[329] These events inflated Sanu''s ego to a great extent, leading him to megalomanically appoint himself "the spokesmen of liberal Egyptians," which led to his being frequently interviewed by European reporters and questioned by many political dignitaries who were looking for an insider's view on Egypt.[330]

When it came to his Egyptian identity politics abroad, Sanu' embraced the figure of the sheikh through a new sartorial style associated with Islam and Egypt in the European imagination. Figure 4. shows the way in which Sanu' pridely exhibits his new sheikh Abu Naddara persona in the French illustrated press, becoming a proxy and spokesman for Egypt and Islam in the last phase of his life.[331] In fact, Sanu' wore the Islamic turban and gown with extravagance and flamboyance, turning it into a progressive, hybrid, and

---

[328] See Paul De Baignières, *L'Egypte satirique : Album d'Abou Naddara illustré de 48 pages de gravures*, 1886, 89.

[329] See *Abu Naddara,* 26 September 1886; 20 October 1896; 20 November 1896; 17 April 1897; 25 June 1897.

[330] See Gendzier, *Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'*, 98

[331] "Who does not know the Sheikh 'Abu-Naddara,' who is regarded as the great friend of France, by our Parisian confreres? He has been our guest for the past 30 years and has become as popular on the banks of the Seine as he is on the banks of the Nile and the Bosphorus. A week barely passes when the press does not document one of his many conferences, speeches or interviews. His favorite subjects are the role of France in the Orient, the sympathies which the Orientals have for the French, the Egyptian question, Islam and lately the Franco-Ottoman entente cordiale" by Louis Aiguine in *Le Progrès*, 29 February 1908.

cultured sign within the liberal French circles of Paris. Sanu''s Islamic garb was well-received by French society; and the fact that its wearer spoke in the political and cultural register of the French endeared its Abu Naddara persona all the more. It is important to heed here that, like Kamil, Sanu''s political power outside of Egypt depended on French and its modes of sociality, so he made sure to politically affiliate himself with the secular, progressive, and civil values of the French. In fact, Sanu''s progressive, secular nature led to his early gesture of affiliation with Europe while a young student in Italy before he had developed his foreign political strategy later in life. Frustrated by the excessive conservatism of Egypt's religious authorities and schooled in the Enlightenment tradition of Europe, he depicted the figure of the Muslim/Arab sheikh in overly negative terms in *L'Arabo Anziano*[332]. This nineteenth-century text constitutes an early discourse of reform for Sanu', but it also implicated him in self-estranging race dialectics, making him, like al-Muwaylihi in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*, engage in an ethnography of Egyptian Othering. Its discourse demonstrates that the poet clearly identified and felt affiliated with the secular values of Europe, whereby the Sheikh type in these early poems symbolizes superstition, degeneracy, stagnancy, lechery, indolence, and the lack of pluralist values. He pours his vindictive on the Arab/Muslim sheikh also maligned for centuries in French and European political thought. Sanu''s rhetoric vis-a-vis his ethnographic sketch of the Arab sheikh, like his Anglophobic discourse later in life, draws from a dialectic of race Othering that put them in opposition to progress and liberty. But the sheikh type ceased to signify a racial

[332] See Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 1998, 80-83.

Other for Sanu' who changed his race politics while campaigning in France for Egypt's independence from Britain. Sanu's representation of this type was modified to fit a new agenda whose success hinged on successfully claiming and embracing native Egyptian identity. Native Arabness was thus performed with great pride and flamboyance since the independence question also hinged on its proper representation. It seems Sanu' had internalized French liberal society's Orientalist perception of the sheikh figure, noting the exotic place it had acquired in the French imaginary. In this context, he transformed himself into an "Oriental" sign to gain more visibility within French society. As illustrated in figure 4., he abandoned his Western clothes and wore a traditional Egyptian *galabiyah* (Egyptian gown) and turban. To the *galabiyah* Sanu' attached many decorative medals and awards offered to him by European leaders, turning his overall appearance into a hybrid cultural emblem. This excessively accessorized outfit turned him into the Sheikh *Abu-Naddara* persona popularized by his newspaper, adding to his personality a touch of native "authenticity" and to his presentations on Egypt and on Islam more legitimacy. This sartorial style also functioned as a differentiating marker for Sanu', satisfying his eagerness for increased visibility in Europe.[333]

In 1887 Sanu' published a column titled "Les discours d'Abu Naddara," which contained all his lectures, and within these columns, he persisted in including the positive reviews made by the French and European press about his lectures. In a gesture of false humility,

[333] See *L'Hirondelle de France* 1895, reprinted and included in the *Abu Naddara 1894 Yearly Album.*

Figure 5

he thanked them for graciously announcing his conferences and for their glowing reviews, always using his adopted name, Le Sheikh Abou-Naddara. This act of embracing the Oriental ethnographic sign by Sanu' in the latter phase of his life is important; for it illustrates the way in which his Arab-Francophone identity merged into one persona. He astutely combines the identity semantics of Islam and Arabness through his Arab ethnic sartoriality, and the social, Francophone, and international dimension of his journalistic and campaigning politics through his donned medals and his standard posing for the photograph. The Arab sartorial marker acquires significance from the fact that Sanu' or le sheikh Abou Naddara is notorious for speaking for Egypt's cause and on Islam's alignment with progress and modernity. Writing in the French medium, through the terms of post-Enlightenment modernity, and in the cultural politics of the French (Anglophobic discourse and caricature) unequivocally affiliates him with the French. Most significant in Sanu''s

foreign politics is his evolving understanding of ethnographic representation within West-East politics, departing from an ideological and cultural rejection of the sheikh figure earlier in his life, and which Orientalistically placed him on the side of retrograde and backward islamism, into infusing it with the syncretic identity of Egyptian modernity, making him in the process an "enlightened" figure of Egyptian nationalism. It is important to remember the Jewish and Italian background of Sanu' who sartorially identified with the secular tradition of the European suit. Abandoning the Western suit, Sanu' appropriates the sign of Islam and Arabness as most representative of native Egyptianness while continuing to speak in the progressive tradition of European thought. As mentioned above, many years earlier, he had depicted the figure of the Muslim sheikh in a radically different way in his Italian poems, *L'Arabo Anziano* (1869)[334], turning the Arab/Muslim sheikh into a culmination of the retrograde and stagnant traditionalism of the religious authorities in Egypt, and whom he blames for stalling his native country's progress.[335] This served to affiliate him with European progress before developing a solid foreign politics based on demystifying Islamic stereotypes later in his life. In the thirty years he spent in France, Le Sheikh Abou Naddara, as the French called him, strayed from the conventional Muslim race projections of Europeans, and changed the semantics around the sheikh type into a

[334] James Sanua, *L'Arabo anziano*, 1869).

[335] For an understanding of the ethnographic representation and the desire poetics of Orientalist French fiction in the eighteenth century, see Montesquieu. *Lettres Persanes,* 1721). For a blatant sexualized projection of the Oriental female encountered during travel to the East, see Pierre Loti's, *Les Trois dames de la Kasbah,* 1924 [1884]. Also note Gustave Flaubert's use of the Oriental metaphor in depicting Emma's adulterous embrace as an "odalisque" in *Madame Bovary,* 1856: Also see Flaubert's *Correspondance,* 1850-1854. For an oversexualized portrayal of the Oriental female and the merger between the ancient past and desire, see *Salammbo,* 1883); See also Antoine Galland's *Voyage à Constantinople,* 2002 [*1672-1673].*

symbol of progressive hybridity and double-identity.[336] To show how far his later Muslim repsententation strayed from this old Arab stereotype, a quick summary of his poems, *L'Arabo Anziano* is warranted; for it shows the evolution of his discourse on Islam in relation to Egypt's native identity and his early affiliation with a Eurocentric Mediterranean identity[337]. Though Jewish with old ties to freemasonry,[338] Sanu's does not hesitate to modify his identity politics at the latter phase of his life to affiliate himself with Muslims as befitting the occasion. As a teenager acquiring an education in Italy, he had developed his first nationalist sentiment, and through exposure to radical Italian nationalist ideas[339] and to Italian culture, he transposed his newly acquired concepts into his first Egyptian literary ethnography. Contact with Europe also fueled his feeling of belonging to Egypt--an Egypt of cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity that was, according to him, threatened by static, traditionalist customs. During this early phase, the Muslim Sheikh represents a

[336] For more information on Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ's drama activities, see Dina Amin, "Yaʿqūb Ṣannū,'" in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography. 1850-1950,* 2010, 284-292; see also Muhammad Mustafa Badawi, "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre: Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ" in Journal of Arabic Literature, 16, 1985, 132-145; Rosella Dorigo Ceccato, "Autobiographical Features in the Works of Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ" in *Writing the Self,* 1998, 51-60; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Gunaym, *Ṣanūʿ rā'id al-masraḥ al-miṣrī*, 1966; Matti Moosa, "Ya'qûb Ṣanû' and the rise of Arab Drama in Egypt", International Journal of Middle East Studies, 5.4, 1974, 401-433; Philip C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century (1799-1882),* 1996, 89-100.

[337] Freemasonry (farmāsūniyya ou firmāsūniyya ou encore māsūniyya ou bināya ḥurrawas) was introduced to Egypt in 1798 by Napoleon's French army, and it included a variety of French, English, Italian, German, and Greek rites. On this phenomenon, see Jacob M. Landau, "Abû Naḍḍâra, an Egyptian-Jewish Nationalist" in The Journal of Jewish Studies, 3, 1952, 33−44. See also Jacob M. Landau's "a Study of Secret Societies in Modern Egypt" in Middle Eastern Studies, 1, 1965, 135−186. Jacob M. Landau mentions that Farmāsūniyya is an entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2004), 296- 91. Ṣanu' and al-Afgani were initiated to freemasonry by the same master. Al-Afġānī had met Ṣanu's in 1871 when he arrived to Cairo and became a member in his circle, Ǧam'iyyat Muḥibbī l-'Ilm. To learn more on al-Afghani, see Rudi Matthee, "Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Egyptian National Debate" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 21, 1989, 152−153.

[338] On 25 February, 1868, he joined the Concordia Lodge, the first English Rite Masonic lodge in Egypt, achieving the title of Master on 24 December of the same year. See: Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture,* 1998, 80-83.

type for Sanu', a culmination of the social and cultural ills of the country; and so, in his book of Italian poems, *L'Arabo Anziano*, the Muslim shiekh becomes the main character. He is described as a typical old Arab, a retrograde person "partito retrogado" (poem 1) who adheres to tradition at all cost, thereby representing the older generation who is opposed to progress and change. The year of the book's publication is significant in Egypt's modern history, for 1869 saw the opening of the Suez Canal, an emblem of modernity and development in the country. Sanu' opens his first poem with a celebratory tone, exulting the role of the khedive Isma'il (1830 - 1895), also known as Egypt's Haussman, in promoting urban progress[340]. As mentioned earlier, the khedive, Isma'il was a Francophile who directed great urbanization projects in Cairo, making it resemble Paris to a great extent. In the first poem, Sanu' cites Ismai'l's role in the development of the arts and sciences, the opening of schools and prestigious academic institutions, and of composing an Egyptian army of indigenous people. The author celebrates Egypt's visible urban progress on the eve of the Suez Canal's opening, but he laments what he sees as backward native customs. He thus summarizes the old Arab modus vivendi in poems 2, 3 and 4. The old Arab or sheikh often repeats his faith in God and the prophet and lives in anticipation of paradise. Science is dismissed and medical advice is overlooked in favor of God's will in granting health, leading a passive and indolent life, thereby echoing the mentality of the Azhar authorities criticized by al-Muwaylihi in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*. The old sheikh is lecherous, waiting for an afterlife to get beautiful Huries. He accepts no other religion besides Islam, and in poem 11, he attacks a Protestant missionary who invites people to

[340] On the urban works of Ismail, see Yves Durkheim and Dominique Prin 1987, 17.

pray to the son of God. According to the sheikh, cross-encouters with the occident constitutes a great menace to Islam, and so he is the enemy of progress, ascribing Western inventions such as the telegraph and the locomotives to the work of Satan. The latter is also responsible for the circus, an artistic phenomenon symbolic of modernity and prized by Europeans. Even the most refined art form, the musical theater or the opera is criticized by the sheikh who, in poem 21, compares the singing of the prima donna in Verdi's *La Traviata* with the screams of a woman in labor. Sanu' had in mind the Opera House, which was under construction when his poem was published in 1869. In April 1869 the Khedive entrusted the building project to architect Pietro Avoscani (1816 - 1891), a member of the Giovine Italia, who would hand it over completed six months later. He also criticizes the Muslim practice of polygamy, a theme which would be constantly raised in Ṣanu''s theatrical productions. Starkly opposed to ta*'addud az-zawgat* (polygamy), he wrote a play titled *aḍ-Ḍarrataani* ("The two rival wives")[341] . As was the case of numerous Egyptian *Nahda* intellectuals at his time, Ṣanuʿ strives to achieve equality for women, and in fact, his insistence to have Egyptian actresses on the stage was part of this commitment to empowering native Egyptian women. Like al-Muwaylihi in *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham*, he

[341] The term ḍarra in Arabic means a co-wife, and the term has a negative connotation, for it derives from the Arabic darra, which means to hurt, inflict pain or damage. The play's protagonist, Aḥmad, takes a second wife after fifteen years of marriage to his first wife, a girl of sixteen. The constant rivalries and fights between the two wives, however, force Aḥmad to divorce both. At the end of the play, in a monologue addressed to the public, the main character attacks polygamy. The showing of this play marks the first rift between Ṣanūʿ and the Khedive who was a polygamist, as was most of his elite entourage. Here Sanu' advocates also love marriages instead of arranged marriages, and by doing this, he joins other intellectuals who defend women's emancipation like Qasim Amin and al-Tahtawi who composed *al-Muršid al-amīn li-l-banāt wa-l-banīn* (a Guide for the Girls and Boys) in 1872. Qāsim Amīn (1865–1908) was especially known for authoring the essay, "Taḥrīr al-Mar'a" (the liberation of woman) in 1899 where he advocates women's right to work outside the home and accuses Muslim lawmakers for tailoring the institution of marriage to men's sexual impulses (103). In *L'Arabo Anziano*, Sanu' argues that a man can only love one woman "Più d'una donna l'uomo amar non puote" (15).

portrays the sheikh as indifferent to the nationalism of his contemporaries living on the opposite side of the Mediterranean. Dismissing newspapers, he has no knowledge of what is happening across the world.

Kamil and Sanu' differ from al-Muwaylihi by their fascinating syncretism, the ability to switch cultural codes in their discourses, and by their insider's knowledge of French culture deployed to perfection in their foreign politics with France. Their strategic use of the language of Moliere in soliciting French support for Egypt's independence illustrates how a Francophone education within a culturally-pluralist Egypt and the transcontinental pedagogical connections maintained with France gave them full access to the field of French and European sensibility. This case also shows that moral taste is a polyvalent, heteroglossic field that unites multiple identity poles via a process of pairing and association. As long as refinement and sensibility are grounded around the idea of education, wealth, and the social recognition of class, it can take many ethnic forms albeit they all draw fundamental performative, social, and institutional forms from the West. This unsettles the categories of modern bourgeois and elite identity known in the West, and with respect to colonial subjectivity, Emily Apter brilliantly highlights the tenuous lines existing between categorical cultural and subjective differences, arguing that categorically-opposed styles of thought have proven false in separating different strains of beliefs, feelings, and identity markers in the (post)colonial context.[342] This is key to my understanding of class identity in the context of the anti-colonial intellectual subject who uses the same identity

[342] See Emily Apter, "French Colonial Studies and Postcolonial Theory," 1995, Vol. 24, No. 1/2, *France's Identity Crises,* 169-180

models of the colonizer as he critiques colonial power structures[343]. Adopting James Clifford's contention that cultural identity is in constant flux and migration,[344] Emily Apter urges us to think about the validity of colonial dichotomies and to open ourselves to the notion of the "transnational" and "interdisciplinary" of everyday life in the postcolonial context. She evokes James Clifford's contention of what this transnational interdisciplinary means when pondering the intricacies and polyvalence of the postcolonial subject:

> Old geopolitical oppositions are transformed into sectors within western and non-western societies. Hot/cold, historical/mythic, modern/traditional, literate/oral, country/city, center/periphery, first/third ... are subject to local mix and match, contextual-tactical shifting, syncretic recombination, import-export. Culture is migration as well as rooting- within and be- tween groups, within and between individual persons.[345]

Apter invokes James Clifford's contention in the context of French resistance to postcolonial studies, persisting to exclude issues of multiculturalism, global decentering, identity politics, and cultural hermeneutics in the study of French and Francophone (post)colonial identity. Concerned with preserving the integrity of Frenchness, French intellectuals, Apter argues, fail to grasp the relevance of postcolonial theory to their contemporary politics of culture. Apter takes issue with France's contemporary cultural politics for insisting on a differential representation of Francophone locales, excluding Algiers or Montreal from the "*hauts lieux*" or the authentic "psychotopographies" that

---

[343] See Fanon, Frantz, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1968.

[344] This also recalls the *rihla* narrative as a culture in migration, going through perpetual change, as the traveler is impressed by the phenomena observed and experienced for the first time. See also Roxanne Euben and chapter 1 on al-Tahtawi's sojourn in France.

[345] See Clifford, James. "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm*," Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, 1, 1989, 126.

deserve to be included within narratives of French nostalgia. [346] She refers to the topographic hierarchy used by French intellectuals like Pierre Nora[347] who exclude "peripheral locales" out of a concern to avoid "personal, arbitrary vagabondage."[348] In addition to solidifying a logic of French-postcolonial class boundaries, the word, "vagabondage" implies a disturbed authentic French aesthetic uniformity. To speak of violating the sanctity of French identity, an attitude that combines class and race discrimination entails reinforcing a particular ethnic and historic national identity that denies France's history of multiculturalism. The latter emerged in Europe with the rise of Orientalism and Egyptology, not merely as practices of Othering, but as aesthetic devices of desire inseparable from modern European subjectivity. The Arabic *Nahda* discourse, likewise, illustrate how Arab nineteenth-century thinkers and reformers, beginning with al-Tahtawi, Khayr al-din, al-Shidyaq, and Butrus al-Bustani reflected modernity's epistemological foundation, which organized many social and political-reform discourses of the following decades.[349] From French enlightenment ideals or scientific positivism,

---

[346] Ibid.

[347] Pierre Nora 1992.

[348] Meaning of vagabondi n French is equivalent to the term hobo, a wanderer with no fixed place and no adherence to social rules, a concept unsettling to elites and middle-classes.

[349] Moḥamed al-Muwaylihi sent back an article describing this visit and then went to Paris to visit the Great Exhibition (Exposition universelle), which he described for the readers of *Miṣbaḥ al-sharq* in a series of episodes entitled "Paris." In describing his visit to the French capital, al-Muwayliḥī was walking in the footsteps of figures such as al-Ṭahtawi, al-Shidyaq, and Ali Mubarak. Al-Muwaylihi only covered the Paris Exhibition of 1900.

modern humanist ideals were even placed in a new agenda of Islam modernism, socialism, and market capitalism.[350]

[350] The son of Butrus al-Bustani, Salim al-Bustani (1848–84) was a prolific intellectual. He studied at his father's *al-Madrasah al-wataniyah* and was schooled by great figures, such as Nasif al-Yaziji (1800–1871) and al-Shaykh Yusuf al-Asir (1815–90). He was an Arab Renaissance man par excellence. Biographical information regarding Salim's life can be found in Jurji Zaydan, *Tarikh adab al-lughah al-arabiyah,* 1913, 258–59.

CHAPTER IV

The Women of Egypt's Royal House in the Illustrated Press, 1920s-1940s: Aristocratic Taste, Family, and Modern Subjectivity

In the 1920s-1940s, photographs of upper-class Europeanized women dominated Egypt's illustrated press in socio-political contexts that articulated new social formulas for modern Egyptian identity within the politics of the nation state (Fig. 1 ,2, 3, and 4[351]). The female relatives of King Faruk Fuad, in particular, increasingly figured in photographic publications that promoted women's central role in the nuclear family, monogamous marriage, and feminine domesticity. Their portrayal was loaded with political meaning and took part in a variety of discourses, key among which was Britain's colonial politics and which had undermined Egyptian culture on the basis of its Eastern gender norms and family structures since the nineteenth century. To counter this British ethnographic onslaught, Egypt's magazine editors like, Emile and Shukri Zaydan, published stories on Egyptian royalty and often framed bourgeois Egyptian state-institutions within the racial identity and class conditions of Egypt's fair-skinned Westernized Turco-Circassian royal females, and at times, adopted a self-Orientalizing discourse that set Egypt's royals apart from the rest

[351] Fig 1. shows European winners of beauty pageants, *al Musawwar*, February 1928; Fig 2. illustrates an Egyptian actress in both Western and Eastern clothes. The Caption reads in Arabic, "an Egyptian Star" *al-Musawwar*, Sept 1928; Fig. 3 (entitled in French "the Art of Powdering Oneself") and Fig. 4 (entitled in French "the Culture of Hands") are both from the January-1945-issue of *Images*.

of contemporary "Oriental" societies. They infused their royal coverage with glamorous photographs that portrayed Egypt's royal women within the privacy of their home with relaxed royal gender norms no different from the ones observed in European society. They explained the Westernized gender relations seen in these photos along King Faruk's family's adoption of modernity, and in this process, they adopted the very politics of Otherness used by Western colonialists to distinguish the royal gender norms from those observed by the rest of Egyptians. By linking the gender roles followed within King Faruk's family to national culture, Egypt's press was aestheticizing national identity while incorporating a Victorian model of gender identity that placed Egyptian women in the home and presumed the normalcy of the private-public sphere binary for Egyptian subjectivity. Good European taste was fundamental in this process and was depicted as a symbol of national development, but Egypt's royalty had a lifestyle that did not reflect Egypt's class, ethnic, and religious plurality, for Egyptian identity was very complex and was the object of contesting ideological discourses outside the urban center of ethnic minorities. Considering an ethnically-Arab and Muslim majority and invested in scaffolding the aesthetic identity of the modern nation-state and Egypt's British-backed Turco-Circassian monarchy[352], the editors of these periodicals focused on showing the multi-faceted identity of the royal females who were revealed Westernized, romantic, and chic from the inside while simultaneously clinging to Muslim native signs when in public.

[352] See Sami Zubaida, *Islam, the People, and the State*, 1989, 145–52.

Images[353] (1929-1969), *al-Musawwar*[354], and other photographic magazines, portrayed Faruk's mother and sisters as models of chic-elegance and European taste and focused on showing them within the privacy of their home, donning the latest French fashions, seated in French baroque salons (living-rooms) surrounded with exquisite Louis XV furniture. Their postures communicated feminine virtue, delicateness, and devotion to family, reflecting the collective values of the nation-state in ways that appeared to promote a national culture of commodity consumption along the aesthetic standards of national citizenship. These periodicals consolidated elite and bourgeois subjectivity models as they narrated and approvingly-commented on their photographic subjects' biographies and personal choices. Monogamous marriage, Francophone education, class-etiquette, and feminine morality were praised within the context of the royal house's social activities and personal lives while pointing out the role these aristocratic women played in advancing the Egyptian nation. The home was important in this process, serving as an iconic space for

[353] *Images* was a weekly Francophone periodical that was in circulation between 1929-1969 in Cairo, Egypt. It was part of *Dar al-Hilal* periodicals, which was run by Emile and Shukri Zaydan, the sons of the famous Syro-Lebanese writer and journalist, Jurji Zaydan. *Images* was, in fact, the first French-language periodical in Egypt to use images albeit there were other successful Francophone journals that weren't photographic, such as *L'Egypte Nouvelle*, *L'Egyptienne* and *La Semaine Egyptienne*. In parallel with *Images*, the Zaydan brothers also published *Al-Musawwar* (the Illustrated) and *Al-Dunya al-Musawwara* (the World in Images), two Arabic-language periodicals published in Arabic. For forty years, *Images* was covering political and social events, scientific advancements and literary and cultural progress, using both texts and images, mostly photographs, but also graphs, maps, drawings, and caricatures. The editors of the magazine made it explicit in their first issue that their decision to include pictures was determined by changes in society, with the tempo of life speeding up, thereby causing readers to spend less time reading (no 1, August 1929). Images was launched during a time when periodicals started using images in their publications in the 1920s in France, and which saw the birth of *Vu*, founded by Lucien Vogel in 1928, and which must have served as a model for *Images*. The page layout, the structure, the photographic style as well as the imprinting techniques employed, such as the rotogravure, a new innovation printing in large quantities and formats, allowing editors more freedom in their montage, and accurately reproducing photographic color tone.

[354] *Al-Musawwar* (the illustrated paper) (1925-1969) was published by *Dar-al-Hilal* by Shukri and Emil Zaydan brothers and was the first Arabic publication to use pictures.

feminine interiority and ideal motherhood, and the royal home, in particular, became a class-bound space, which consistently conflated royal elite-class practices with a new gendered national morality, which valorized Egypt's domicile as a new body-politic[355]

Figure 6

Figure 7

governedby feminine taste. The Francophone magazine, *Images* (1929-1969), for example, often presented the Queen Mother, Nazli Sabri and her four daughters' personal lives as modular for the cosmopolitan urban elite of Egypt, but more importantly, their values and beliefs were presented as relatable to ordinary Egyptians. [356] The Zaydan brothers, for example, succeeded in appealing to their readership's sense of collective community by commenting on the moral qualities and choices of the Queen Mother and Faruk's fiancé and sisters, but it was the visual and class effect of the photographs that dominated the magazine's discourse, linking the lives of their subjects to the state and its attendant

[355] Pollard 2000.
[356] Figures 6 and 7 are from *al-Musawwar*.

aesthetic, social, and subjective forms. These visual representations were anything but democratic or democratizing, for though their state-inspired moral discourse was inclusive and accessible to a wider literate readership, their photographic coverage centered on domestic and social practices that were exclusive to the elite urban minority, treating female royals like celebrities who paraded glamorous fashions in family portraits alongside tempting commodities. Ubiquitous wealth signs were carefully placed within nationally-demarcated hegemonic social and political forms and roles, like the bourgeois nuclear family and middle-class feminine domesticity. This was done by presenting the women and girls of the royal family in photographs occupying social and family situations that fit the very social and political roles prescribed by the nation-state, combining the visual appeal of their appearance with the aesthetic recipe of national citizenship.[357] The latter was naturally upheld by the intelligentsia and a wider public literate in Arabic and French aspiring to social mobility.[358] The nuclear family, the sophisticated well-behaved house-wife and immaculate children were being normalized by focusing on the royal family of Egypt as exemplary in this regard, with the Queen Mother, *le- prince-héritier,* (the crown-prince) Faruk Fouad, and his sisters, occupying clearly-defined and desirable spaces and roles within a new Egypt. The French magazine, *Images,* and its Arabic sister, *al-Musawwar* (the illustrated), for instance, excelled in this process by presenting royal stories and photographs and infusing them with the aesthetic ideology of the state, whereby

[357] Fig. 8. Queen Mother, Nazli Sabri with her daughter, the Princess Fawziya and her daughter-in-law, Farida (Previously Safinaz) during one of the Palace events circa 1938 (Source unknown).

[358] Fig. 9. The Queen Mother, Nazli Sabri, and her three daughters Faiza, Fathiya, and Fawqiya circa 1938.

aristocrats and royals appropriated a national bourgeois moralism that had great valence

Figure 9

Figure 8

within Egypt's collective national identity as they paraded high taste and exquisite commodities. The taste of Egypt's elites was now visually-projected, increasingly-gendered, and defined around education, romance, marriage, motherhood, and children's education. This was Egyptian national culture going through a process of feminine embourgeoisement as aristocratic feminine taste was being moralized and tailored to middle-class Egyptians. Egypt's royals were setting aesthetic standards for a new national culture that was increasingly-gendered and governed by taste with identities that were conceptualized around family, feminine interiority, and a Victorian-inspired cult of domesticity organized according to separate private and public spheres.[359] And though Egyptian women's journals had started doing this since the late nineteenth-century, in the

[359] Pollard 2000.

1920s-1940s period, the ready availability of pictures and the glamourizing narratives of the female royals turned class in the national press into a ubiquitous sign, inseparable from expressions of national citizenship. This new national politics of taste depended on a growing feminization of culture, which defined bourgeois interiority as a synergetic relationship between commodities, women, the family, and state-institutions.[360] In this process, *Images* diffused a discourse of sensibility, which highlighted family and romance as it punctuated a new national moralism that tied women's taste, in particular, to moral aptitude. Qualities that were strictly in the purview of aristocratic class, such as philanthropy, commodity consumption, European manners and decorum, French elocution and diction, were now articulated around modern, collective socio-political issues, such as feminine virtue, monogamy, motherhood, domesticity, and children's education, thereby becoming essential national identity markers for middle-class Egyptians.

In the 1930s and 1940s, photographic coverage of royal elites emphasized the role mothers played in the home while vesting their consumerist lifestyles with moral and national significance. This emphasis on maternalism was an extension of the discourse initiated by Egyptian women's periodicals in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries, and which had promoted a national feminine identity based on competence in literacy, home-economics, motherhood, hygiene, and etiquette.[361] But while the latter aspects of women's identities had been defined according to taste from the early launch of women's magazines in the 1890s, the illustrated magazines of the

[360] Morrison 2016.

[361] See Baron 1994; Booth 1997; Russell 1997

following decades visually-projected and idealized feminine domesticity, defining the latter around commodity consumption, thereby lending bourgeois subjectivity a concrete form. Another striking fact about this class and racial hegemony is the reinforcement of class and gender divisions in society; for as explained earlier, the taste-oriented template of feminine subjectivity in Egypt's illustrated press was contingent on a Victorian cult of domesticity, on clearly-defined gender roles, and on a normalized private-public dichotomy opposed to native family lifestyles in rural Egypt. This shows that a feminist agenda cannot truly succeed within a Eurocentric model of state government like the one followed by (post)colonial Egypt.

Photographic magazines, like *al-Musawwar* (the Illustrated), *al-Dunya al-musawwara* (the Illustrated Life), *al-Ithnayn wa-al-Dunya* (Monday and Life), and *Images*, among others, selectively projected royal Egyptian females who unitarily appeared Westernized, domestic, delicate, and sophisticated with identities opposed to those of their male counterparts. Pictures selectively projected the pursuits of the women of the royal household according to defined gender divisions, with the male members of the royal family often involved in public activities that communicated masculinity while women embodied virtuous and nurturing roles, and their public functions were confined to moral activities, such as philanthropy and the Red Cross. However, the moral qualities of the king's female relatives were highly relatable to the rest of middle-class Egyptian women, like motherhood, education, monogamous romance, and attachment to Muslim, native identity.[362] As mentioned earlier, this emphasis on aesthetic appeal within the national-

[362] See El Shakry, *The Great Social Laboratory*, 2007, 176.

reform context of the photographic magazines appeared to democratize national citizenship through a democratization of taste, but the moral exemplarity of its feminine subjects was nevertheless ironically justified through their aristocratic lineage and missionary education, which alienated lower-class Egyptian women from this new homogenized template of national feminine identity.

The photographic exhibition of King Faruk's mother and sisters was partly in response to the early fixation of Western colonial powers on the outward appearance of the Muslim female who was, like its Western counterpart, an emblem of national culture and of modernity.[363] British colonial discourse had ethnographically fixated on Egyptian issues, like polygamy, veiling, and gender separation, using native-gender culture as a sign of civilizational Otherness and hence an impediment in the way of Egyptian-state sovereignty.[364] Also, in addressing the readers in the language of Moliere, Francophone magazines, like *Images*, were responding to a native concern among Egypt's intelligentsia and upper and middle-class families to share in the ethos of modernity, especially that British colonial discourse had denied them the subjective status of modernity on the basis of ethnographic difference.[365] In this process, Egypt's elites recognized that European taste and Egypt's women were key signs in this symbolic battle for independence and that

[363] Abu-Lughod 1998

[364] Renata Pepicelli 2017

[365] Deniz Kandiyoti 1991

organizing Egyptian society to fit the modern model of the nation-state depended on a gender-based bourgeois organization of feminine interiority and family space.

A few decades earlier in France, French women's periodicals, like *Femina* (1901-1954) and *La Vie Heureuse* (1902-1917), were having great success in promoting women's etiquette, feminine domesticity, marriage, and the nuclear family, and might have served as inspiration for Egypt's Francophone periodicals, like *L'Egyptienne*[366] (1925), *L'Egypte Nouvelle, La Semaine Egyptienne*. and *Images.* What is certain is that Egypt's illustrated press was thematically and structurally-similar to its French counterpart in that it provided access to the interiors and private lives of privileged women in ways that promoted commodity consumption. The focus on conventional feminine norms through lavish and highly-sophisticated lifestyles implied ordinary Egyptian women's ability to achieve amazing identity transformations. The great attention given to King Faruk's mother and sisters was justified by means of their modern disposition, *savoir-faire,* and moral exemplarity within the private realm of the family. The editors of the Francophone magazines capitalized on the royal females' demur disposition, their behind-the-scenes-political role in the advancement of the nation, and their ability to visually embody *bon gout* and ethical purity. Readers were aesthetically-interpellated, with the help of carefully-orchestrated portraits and French rhetoric, into experiencing, judging, and pondering the modern social values fostered in these magazines. The production of a new aesthetic national culture consisted in narrating stories that were organized according to class-

[366] *L'Egyptienne* (1925) was a feminist journal founded by Huda Sha'rawi (1879-1947), an upper-class woman and leader of a feminist movement who left memoirs of her early life and regularly wrote in the journal on Egyptian women's issues.

bounded concepts and values, treating taste as a natural yardstick for judging both society and national development. These narratives presented Francophone missionary-school education for females as a function of elite lineage, refined sensibility and moral discipline, carefully embedding them into morally and aesthetically-appealing narratives that consistently tied them to Egyptian national reform.

This type of journalism was distinguished by its unitary treatment of race and class, and the Francophone periodicals, especially, strayed far from Egyptian multi-ethnic native culture by adopting French subjective and aesthetic modes aligned with regimented Egyptian-state reform programs and with the socio-cultural relations and material conditions that kept them in place. Westernized Egyptian women with fair skin received greater attention everywhere in these magazines and were often paired with commercial products tied to a consumerist subjectivity thriving in a society of gender binaries. Even though, at this time, Egyptian national identity had been the field of multiple contestations from various national-reform currents for decades, the upper-and-middle-class voices dominated the photographic press and reflected their own class imaginary and socio-cultural logics. In the Francophone press, in particular, used a French lyricism that targeted men and women who were educated in French missionary schools, came from urban elite and middle-class backgrounds, and were predisposed to espouse and approvingly respond to their content.

Images[367] (1929-1969) dedicated most of its January-1938-issue to King Faruk Fuad's (1920-1965) private life on the occasion of his engagement to Safinaz Zullficar (1921-1988) (Fig. 7). A spread of articles on the king's fiancé, mother, and four sisters followed, making the announcement of Faruk's marriage a mere pretext for the insertion of biographic elaborations on the king and his female loved ones. The obvious closeness of the king to his mother and sisters was meant to diffuse the image of Egypt's gender equality and family values, and in this context, Faruk's marriage signified Egypt's normalized practice of monogamous marriage, romance, and the modern nuclear family. Faruk's marriage was touted as an important stabilizing national event that would scaffold Egypt's foundation as a sovereign modern nation. The royal-marriage coverage used photographs from the king's childhood and youth to shed light on the different facets of Faruk's life: his excellent rearing and education, his mother's lavish attention and affection; the luxurious environment of his upbringing within the *Abdeen* royal Palace (Fig. 13); and his romance with Safinaz Sullficar (Fig.12). By embedding Faruk's private life within Egyptian national politics, *Images* turned the king's biography and romance into a discourse on Egypt's modern social and cultural values, and importantly, Faruk's biography and the intimate glimpse the reader got of palatial regal life attested to the taste of Egypt's rulers and their aptness to lead the country into modernity.

[367] *Images* was a Francophone periodical founded by the brothers, Shukri and Emil Zaydan in 1929, and it ran until 1969.

Egypt's king's biography had an important moral dimension that was aligned with the country's national politics of taste, and which depended on a logic that structured Egyptian subjectivity and society according to the European private-public- realm binary and the politics of feminine domesticity that had organized family life in the West since the late-eighteenth-century.[368] This modernity-structured subjectivity was a feature of a social-class minority, notably Egypt's Francophone elites who aspired to more Western bourgeois lifestyles and who came from diverse religious backgrounds. *Images*' editors maneuvered around the question of national identity by embracing native Muslim signs, realizing that

Figure 11

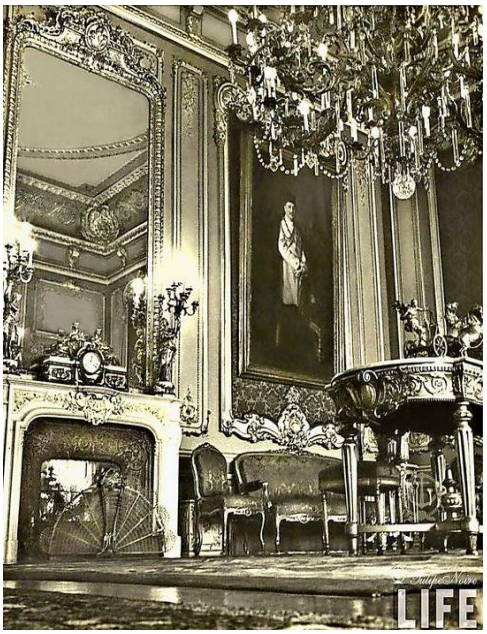

Figure 10

a wholesale adoption of the Eurocentric social model would undermine Egyptian national authenticity[369]. This did not mean that the magazine's orientation was any less Western,

[368] Figures 11, 12, and 13, showing King Faruk and his young wife, Safinaz.

[369] Faruq's early mastery of the Arabic language received great attention in the press, which pointed that, unlike his father, Fuad, he perfected the language of the Qur'aan. See *Kull Shay wa al-Dunya*, May 6, 1936, 6–8. The press also often ran articles on Faruq's penchant for authentically Egyptian objects, one of

for its persistent focus on European aesthetic identity had far-reaching implications for Egypt, signifying the country's cultural and ethnic pluralism, democracy, and its legitimate status of modernity. *Images*' readership's native familiarity with European taste was indicative of the country's ethnic and religious egalitarianism, its readiness for national sovereignty, native intelligentsia's imbibement with post-Enlightenment civility logics, and an affirmation of cultural equivalence with Europe[370]. This was important given British attacks on traditional Egyptian family and gender culture, which were in essence attacks on the visual and structural manifestations of traditional Egyptian family practices. Veiling, polygamy, and gender separation were, in the eyes of the British, a violation of the aesthetical forms of the nation-state and its attendant politics taste and hence opposed to Egyptian progress.

which tells the story of how Faruk urged King Fu'ad to replace European paintings and decors in the Palace with Egyptian ones. Another story tells of an amusing anecdote about how Faruq loves to drink water from the Nile, 29-30.

[370] See Mathew H. Ellis 2009

To simultaneously preserve Egyptian national authenticity and modern aesthetic legitimacy, the magazine discursively configured the private-public realm of the royal family around another important binary in Egyptian national politics: the modern versus the traditional, but there was a twist to this configuration. The magazine editors saw the need to implement a journalistic strategy of biographic and photographic revelation highly desirable in these narratives. This tactic consisted in uncovering emotionally-intriguing details from within Egypt's royal household while entertaining the reader with photographs of regal taste and wealth. The goal was to parade the high taste of Egypt's royals while affirming that they were, in fact, Western/modern in private instead of the reverse, as believed and propagated by the British colonizer who repeatedly attacked the Muslim family structures and traditional gender practices of Egypt's private realm.

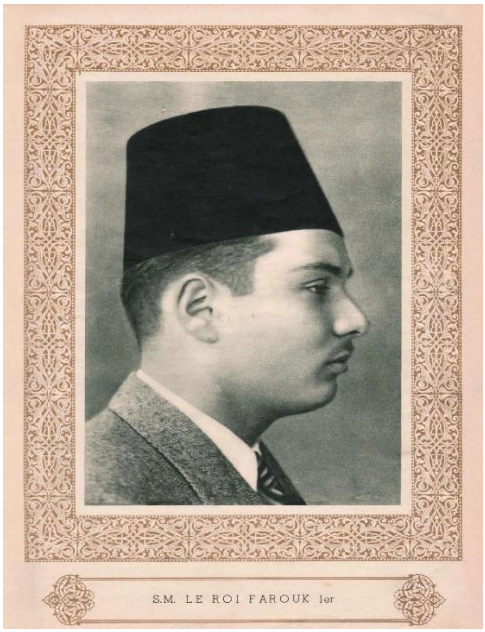

Figure 12

Figure 13

This located the moral and aesthetic dimension of modern Egyptian state- politics within the Westernized private realm of the king's family and the loving relationships he had with

the Queen Mother, his fiancé, and his four sisters. What strikes me in this process is the constant convergence of elite taste and class practices of the royal private realm with the moral discourse of the nation-state, at once uniting the image of sophisticated regal wealth, family-values, feminine roles, romance and the politics of national collectivity. More importantly, this was done while striving to maintain the image of the young king as an egalitarian individual who shared the same affections, desires, and vulnerabilities as everyone else, a fact which increased his mystique.

Faruk's image was lacking in pretension and authentically-Egyptian, sharing in the tastes and values of the *effendiyya* who represented Egypt 's modern independence. The press propagated the idea that Faruk was one of the Egyptian people, ordinary in many ways, and in fact, the coronation edition of *Akhir Sa'a* printed a piece written by Faruq himself entitled 'How I Spend My Day,' in which he shared his daily routine in order to make it seem common and familiar.[371] The magazine also ran a piece entitled 'The Democracy of the King," which showed Faruk riding the tram, just like everyone else, which had the effect of endearing him to his people. It seems that the press sought to present Faruk as a democratic king who shed the trappings of grandeur, making him acquire the attributes of a dual persona, which simultaneously combined distance and faux familiarity.[372] It seems that the press's act of involving the masses in Faruk's royal pageantry gave ordinary Egyptians a sense that they shared in Egypt's royal house's splendor while evincing royal values and qualities that seemed like their own, reinforcing

[371] *Akhir Sa'a*, July 29, 1937, 10.
[372] This point is mentioned by Mathew H. Ellis in "Repackaging the Egyptian Monarchy".

a feeling of national communitas.[373] This sense of inclusive community is best reflected in the magazine's coronation article, and which mentioned how "every Egyptian is celebrating Faruk's coronation: the rich are erecting decorations and lights; the poor are spreading roses and flowers; children are burning their hands in applause."[374]

The January-1938-issue of *Images* also linked Egyptian gender politics with King Faruk's character as a ruler and the moral status of the nation as a whole by delving into his relationship with his doting mother and other royal females. Highlighting multiple layers in the king's personality served to provide a comprehensive moral background narrative to the story of his romance with Safinaz Zulficar. In this context, King Faruk's love relationship is recounted like a condensed Jane Austen novel with all the elements of a hegemonic love narrative, elaborate moral character descriptions and an intriguing plotline with increasing momentum, which finally led to King Faruk's love confession to Safinaz and his announcement of engagement. What distinguished *Images*' coverage was its textual and pictorial focus on the internal life of the king, revealing an evolving portrait of Egypt's ruler, first as a vulnerable child attached to his mother's affection, and later as a desiring young man experiencing love's universal joys and tribulations.[375]

---

[373] See Victor Turner's seminal work *The Ritual Process*; Also, for an analysis of royal pageantry as 'secular ritual', see Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, 1977.

[374] See *Akhir Sa'a*, July 29, 1937, 5.

[375] The cover of 1943-February Issue of *al-Musawwar*. The caption in Arabic reads Abdeen Palace on the King's Birthday. He is seen here with his wife, Queen Farida (previously Safinas Zulficar) dressed in an European fashion as was customary within the court of their residence.

Faruk also appeared in several endearing childhood photographs, in the royal crib[376], or seated next to the Queen Mother and his sisters on a magnificent French Louis IV sofa.[377] As the reader marvels at pictures of Faruk's childhood innocence within palatial opulence

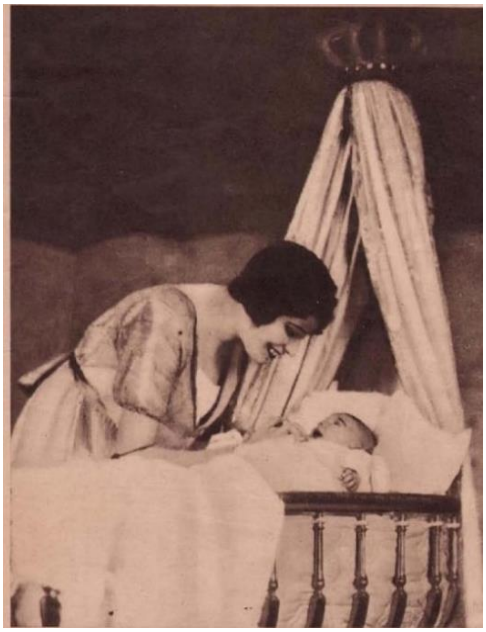

Figure 14

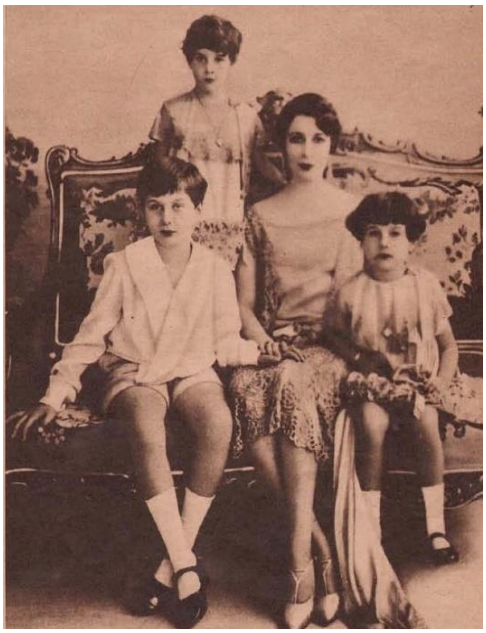

Figure 15

from the past, she learns that in recent months, a romance ensued between him and Safinaz following an invitation by his-now-teenage-sisters to join the family on a skiing trip to the Swiss Alps. Safinaz's friendship with the princesses was primarily justified in the text on family and moral grounds, indicating that her elite lineage (being herself a Pasha's daughter of Turco-Circassian origins), Francophone missionary education, and morals were

[376] Fig. 14.

[377] Fig. 15.

important elements in the king's choice of her as a wife. The success in Faruk's matrimonial choice is directly attributed to the excellent guidance and rearing he had received, turning the lens on his mother, Queen Nazli Sabri. Interestingly, what began as a royal-marriage announcement with Faruk as the focal point of the article switched into a biography of his fiance, his mother, and four younger sisters, turning the royal females into the main subjects of the first few articles of this issue.[378] This familiarizing portrayal did not compromise Faruk's regal status and the authority he wielded in Egypt as its ruler; on the contrary, the article's insertion of private family photographs that showed intimate

[378] Figs. 16 and 17.

details in the life of the king, the Queen Mother, Nazli Sabri, and his four sisters, made the royals seem sensitive and relatable to readers.

Figure 16

Figure 17

Figure 18

Luring the magazine reader into a voyeuristic perspective of the royal house of Egypt mirrored back to them a desirable subjective identity that provoked scopic pleasure, naturalizing an elite national model based on aesthetic emotive engagements and a growing

tendency to converge identities with images of material culture. A similar dynamic was unfolding in French women's periodicals, *Femina* (1902) and *la Vie Heureuse* (1906) by giving female readers privileged access to royalty's private environment and personal commodities. This not only drove readers to consume the goods adorning and enhancing their elite existence, but helped non-elite women vicariously derive pleasure from them. Another important feature of Egypt's illustrated press related to its consistent coverage of the princesses' philanthropic activities, punctuating thus the moral dimension of Egypt's female royals who functioned as models of benevolence for the Egyptian elite who were overseeing state-reform agendas and programs. This propagandist aspect of journalism was commonplace in Britain at the time, suggesting Egyptian press's simulation of this journalistic trend. In fact, key in this mimicry is the racial fairness of Egypt's Turco-Circassian rulers and their likeness to the British royals who were heavily-covered in the British press of the period.[379] Fig. 19 shows a picture of Egypt's Princesses Fawzia (on the right) and her younger sister Fathiya (on the left) that appeared in a 1928-issue of *Al-Musawwar* (The Illustrated). Fig. 20 shows Princess Elizabeth of Britain and Princess Margaret taken circa 1939. The allure of these types of presentations lies in presenting characters that were socially influential with identities that combined both exceptional and mundane elements, an editorial strategy in which early-twentieth-century French women's magazines excelled. For example, *La Vie Heureuse* featured in its June 15, 1919 frontispiece, a "startling photograph of the queen of England giving her young son a

[379] Fig. 16 and 17.

piggyback ride," along with various pictures of mothers nursing or cradling their children from all walks of life, suggesting that royal motherhood is akin to that of the rest of society[380]. This made women identify with exceptional personalities in ways that pushed them to seek "a better version of themselves in the ever-expanding, smorgasbord of models

Figure 19

Figure 20

of modern femininity."[381] This was an example of the socially uniting-role of the magazine between elites and commoners. But depictions of women and girls in Egyptian photographic magazines were motivated by more than just a seeming democratization of taste and the hegemonizing of elite lifestyles; for at the heart of this discursive and photographic narratives lies the need to carve up a national identity for women visually-accessible to the British colonizer as well. The British had judged Egypt's Muslim

[380] See Rachel Mesch, *Having It All in the Belle Epoque*, 2013, 37
[381] Ibid.

traditions on the basis of an Eurocentric class-model that attacked such practices as polygamy and Muslim veiling. Children's education was an essential token in this symbolic battle, making Egyptian editors publicize photographs of the young princesses posing and dressing in a Western fashion to deny the ethnographic and class difference highlighted by the British colonizer during previous decades. In fact, in the late 1920s, Egypt was following France and Britain's model of glamorizing upper-class children in pictures in attempts to advertise products meant for children and mothers and to promote the philanthropic state-programs that were underway. Later, in this chapter, I will analyze Egyptian national politics in regards to children's education and class when I further analyze the role of the domicile and womanhood in raising adequate national children. In addition to reinforcing a new identity model for Egypt's children, the photograph of the two Westernized Egyptian princesses is meant to belie claims that Muslim girls were occluded from the public realm, but their Europeanized appearance brings up another ideological layer from within the question of national aesthetics. Much of bourgeois modern identity has to do with the performance of subjectivity through the manipulation of commodities and private spaces, a fact which had pushed native Egyptians towards adopting the recognizable outfits, behaviors, and poses of modern interiority. One can easily note the uncanny similitude between the photographs of Princess Fawziya and Fathiya and Princess Elizabeth and Margaret--- a similitude in appearance as well as in the carefully orchestrated poise and loving embrace of the two princesses. Sisterly affection and polished childhood innocence mix to both privilege and normalize the racial and class image of Egypt's fair-skinned, ethnically-Albanian rulers. The latter identified as native

Egyptians, but they ironically set themselves apart from the rest of Egypt's racially-darker and ethnically-Arab population, choosing to simulate European royals from across the Mediterranean who were gazing at them with approbation. The image of the princesses was set in opposition to Faruk's who was educated in masculine pursuits like the Boys' Scouts and prepared to take his military and diplomatic training in Britain.

The private-public binary of Egyptian subjectivity depended on the projection of gender differences, thus playing the masculine image of King Faruk against the feminine image of his sisters. In this process, the sensitive aspect of Faruk's personality, which was important in the gender politics of modern Egypt, was carefully-balanced with his projection as a masculine youth, a symbol of Egypt's independence and for the class of Effendiya who associated him with modern democracy and authentic Egyptianness.[382] However, the masculine dimension in Faruk's portrait was not entirely Egyptian; for by the time of King Fuad's death, Britain had been keeping Prince Faruk under its wing, seeking to inculcate him with English values, which explained why he joined Woolwich Military Academy in the two years prior to his accession to the throne at his father's death. England at this time, was on good terms with Egypt, having an invested interest in maintaining a firm grip on Faruk and reaffirming their control over the Suez Canal.[383] Training Faruk in the ways of the British military was one way to scaffold his image as a

[382] Fig. 22 shows young Faruk in his fencing attire (Source unknown). Fig. 23 shows the cover of *al-Musawwar* (July, 1928). Young Faruk is being greeted by one of his ministers. The kiss on the hand is a sign of royal deference and allegiance to the monarchy.

[383] Fig. 24 shows the Prince of Wales on the cover of *al-Musawwar* (Sept, 1928). The caption in Arabic reads "Egypt's Magnificent Guest"; Fig. 25 shows the cover of *Images* (Feb, 1942) with a picture of Pasha Mustapha al-Nahas holding arms with the British ambassador at the time. The Caption in French reads, "Anglo-Egyptian Friendship."

symbol of Egypt's independence, which explains why Prince Faruk was a symbol of the Scouts' program in Egypt in his youth. Wilson Jacob highlighted the place of scouting as an important site for performing masculinity within the politics of the nation, and in fact,

Figure 21

Figure 22

in the 1930s, King Fuad and the British took a strong interest in the scout movement in Egypt, whose aptness for sovereignty and independence was indeed symbolized by Prince Faruk as the ultimate boy scout[384].

[384] Wilson Jacob 2005, 208. Coverage of Faruq as the 'Chief Scout' (al-kashshaf al-a'zam) of the Egyptian movement dominated the Egyptian press, especially after Fu'ad's death. One special edition of *Kull Shay wa al-Dunya* included a three-page article celebrating Faruq's Scouting career with the young prince looking debonair in his scouting garb. The centerpiece of this article was a full-page photograph picturing Faruq in his scouting uniform. See *Kull Shay wa al-Dunya*, May 6, 1936, 13.

Faruk received great attention as a young king leading a newly-independent country, but his female relatives dominated national gender and family politics. Egyptian women's portrayal in the press was tied to what it meant for Egypt to join modern nations, and visually-speaking, the white and Western dominant racial and class model of these women in the press was reinforced by the nature of aesthetic discourse itself, which had originated in Europe in an-image-driven and consumerist social environment. The adoption of the racially-white urban template of feminine identity in Egypt's photographic press was no

Figure 24

Figure 23

doubt discursively and visually privileging the fair-skinned Turco-Circassian ethnic minority in power, which turned them into idealized proxies for the multi-ethnic national collectivity. In fact, despite the racial non-representativeness of the royal women in the press, the ubiquity of taste in their visual representations and the high relatability of their affections and romantic values to ordinary Egyptians rendered their portraits more

sympathetic and worthy of emulation. In fact, this image-driven moral context was ideal for the articulation of the aesthetic discourse of the nascent state, functioning both as a collective narrative of elite and bourgeois hegemony and a smooth thematic bridge to deeper Egyptian political issues. This took the first article in *Images*-January-1938' issue beyond its purported purpose of publicizing Faruk's decision to marry into a vast horizon of political, social, cultural, and economic subjects, essentially turning it into a polyvalent national discourse that equated King Faruk's private practices and his beloved females with the country's contemporary social and cultural achievements. In this context, Egypt's rulers were actors in a national theater that staged their lifestyle and values as modular collective practices indicative of modern progress, whereby the projected lives of King Faruk, his fiancé, mother, and three sisters, functioned like real-life allegories with deeper significance for all Egyptians.

Naturally, the lush spaces that framed King Faruk's biography and the details of his love life painted the women close to him as visually-appealing, educated, sensitive, and nurturing. In short, the feminine identity model it advocated was highly desirable for domesticity in a nation that was putting great emphasis on women's role in the rearing of young children. While this might seem an outdated gender logic fully based on rigid gender binaries, in a context where polygamy was politically-charged, the article's emphasis on King Faruk's romance and monogamous marriage indirectly endowed Egyptian women with the free right to choose a husband instead of having arranged marriages. The circumstances of the royal marriage along with the Queen Mother's ideal performance of motherhood and domesticity were interwoven with the woman question, education's

relationship to elite etiquette, monogamous marriage, and the nuclear family in Egypt. As mentioned above, colonial British discourse had shamed Egyptian society on the basis of its lack of education and hygiene in rural places, ascribing their perceived backwardness and poverty to their traditional practices within the private realm of the family. If colonial discourse stigmatized and used lower-class rural Egyptians as representatives of the Egyptian nation as a whole, the national discourse of the illustrated press reacted by focusing on the urban elite minority and their attendant lifestyle practices within the private realm as representative of all Egyptians.

The Arabic-language magazine *Al-Musawwar* (The Illustrated) also published a picture of King Faruk's mother, Nazli, in the middle of her four children taken the same day on the same occasion.[385] She appeared elegantly seated in the same French Louis-XV settee of the previous picture in the same Versailles-inspired Abdeen Palace[386] *salon* (living room). As childhood pictures, these photographs were a time-regression that served the romantic biographic narrative of Faruk (1920-1965). A close inspection of the photograph reveals the high-taste of the family with Queen Nazli's graceful display of contemporary European fashion. She is wearing her hair in 1920s' Marcel waves, and donning a superb pair of Art-Deco earrings, an exquisite dropped-waist Chanel dress, and flapper-T-strap heels. She, and her immaculately-dressed four children seemed to emanate from a

[385] Fig. 25.

[386] Abdeen Palace was built in 1863 by Ismail Pasha, the Francophile and Francophone khedive of Egypt who led an urban revolution in Cairo, modeled after that of Paris by the Baron Haussman. The palace is modeled after Versailles in France and has Baroque and Rococo interiors.

contemporary French-fashion magazine.[387] In terms of family politics, two features call attention in this picture: the well-behaved royal children and Nazli's motherly devotion, revealed by her demure smile. Appearing in several magazines the same day, this family photograph was a national propaganda piece that merged the idealism of elite domesticity and a growing culture of commodity consumption tied to children's representation in national politics. In fact, the article was marrying King Faruk's identity with that of his mother and four sisters in ways that delivered one unequivocal conclusion: Egypt was in good hands, because the King had been brought up by an ideal mother who embodied the chic character of French modern femininity, virtuous motherhood, and conservative Islam.

Nazli's in-home relaxed demeanor and the lush comfort surrounding her in her Abdeen Palace Baroque *salon* convey the environment of bliss and comfort into which Egypt's first monarch, the late king Fuad I, [388] retreated from the public realm of state

[387] See Fig. 32. Both Queen Nazli and her daughters abandoned the *yashmek* (Turkish veil) while vacationing in Europe, a favorite destination for the family. Archival photographs and newspaper articles reveal that Nazli and her children frequented luxurious French hotels and Swiss ski resorts on their summer vacations à la Française or à l'anglaise in a similar fashion to other European royals and elites. While in Egypt, Nazli opted for Western protocols within the royal court and was addressed in the royal ceremonial of European royals. Her Francophone education and her familiarity with the European lifestyle of salon sociability, French food etiquette, Parisian fashion, and Western culture's association with progress and freedom explain her photographic demeanor and the image it sought to propagate outside of Egypt at that time. in fact, Queen Nazli must have understood the place of performativity in universal power culture, and driven by ambition and the desire to match the pomp of the English royals.To achieve more stature, Nazli made her conservative late husband, King Fuad, appoint her Queen, a first in the Turkish court of Egypt. Nazli, as a matter of fact, insisted on being addressed as such, even after Faruk took a wife and gave her the title of Queen, which created conflicts between her and the future Queen of Egypt, Farida (Safinaz), and created confusion within the court in the late 1930s. Queen Nazli was also a passionate woman who was attracted to the relative freedom enjoyed by European women, a fact which had complicated the relationship she had with her son, King Faruk. As a widow who believed in romance and a woman's freedom to love and marry according to individual choice, she insisted on marrying her sweetheart, Hussein Pasha, a debonair gentleman of noble birth and refined French manners with whom she lived a passionate relationship with no regard to court etiquette. This strained her relationship with her son, which led to a breach that lasted until her death in Los Angeles in 1975.

[388] See *Images*, January 28, 1938.

responsibilities[389]. The style of the salon's architecture and furnishings along with the European fashions of the Queen Mother and her children add to the Eurocentric class effect of the family image. Similarly to what French and British women's periodicals had been doing since the late nineteenth-century, Queen Nazli's elegant outfit and her dotting motherly attention on her children, contrast with the rigid, ceremonial masculine images of her husband, King Fuad, who was routinely seen in the illustrated press of the 1920s inaugurating new projects or receiving foreign personalities and dignitaries. [390] In fact, this photograph [391]is meant to show Nazli within the royal domicile and to set her in opposition with her more conservative public appearance. As a Turco-Circassian woman of high stature, Queen Nazli was never seen in public without the mandatory *Yashmek*, the veil worn by women of Albanian and Turkish descent. In fact, the *yashmek* was a prerogative of Egypt's female elites when out and about due to its dignifying aspect, giving ethnically-Albanian women of stature an air of respectability and distinguishing them from ethnically-Arab middle and lower classes[392]. Nazli's extravagant European fashion style along with

---

[389] Fuad's representation in the popular press of the period mirrors the attitude of the Egyptian people who were impressed with their king's 'trappings of pomp and stateliness' and followed his activities in the press. This was apparent on several magazine covers like, *al-Musawwar* or *al-Lataif al-Musawwara*, which often depicted Fuad looking and acting the part of an august modern monarch. He was often portrayed seated upon his lavish throne in the Parliament building, looking particularly regal. See *al-Lataif al-Musawwara*, January 13, 1930; *al-Lataif al-Musawwara*, December 21, 1931.

[390] See Fig. 28; *Al-Musawwar*, July 20, 1928.

[391] Fig. 26.

[392] The privileges enjoyed by the Turco-Circassian elites and the increasing political control over egypt's finances by Europeans led to a group of native officiers allied with indigenous provincial notables to mount a revolt lead by an army officer named Ahmad 'Urabi, which sparked the suspicions of the khedive. This led to riots across Egypt, which provided a pretext for Britain to invade Egypt, motivated by easy access to India via the Suez Canal. See A . Scholch 1974, 3-14; idem, *Egypt of the Egyptian! The Sociopolitical Crisis in Egypt* 1981); Juan R. I. Cole 1989, 106-33.

the luxurious Abdeen palace setting and her elite demeanor need to be read against the

Figure 25

politics of nation-building and the gender discourses that had dominated Egypt's intellectual scene for over four decades.[393] The projection of *Images*, *al-Musawwar*, *al-Ithnayn wa-al-Dunya*, and other illustrated magazines mark a remarkable shift in Egyptian journalism by deploying photographic representations of the private realm of Egypt's rulers and by focusing on the lives of the females in the royal household. And while this practice was commonplace in places like England, in the Egypt of the late 1930s, this intimate

[393] *The Mu'ayyad* newspaper initiated a new age for the press in Egypt in 1889; also The khedive 'Abbas Hilmi II (1892-1914) promoted the press by encouraging nationalist activities, which led to a great increase in periodicals and newspapers. The immigration of Syrians into Egypt as a result of tight censorship in the Ottoman-governed Arab provinces also fueled Egypt's journalism; see A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh 1980, 47-55; Abbas Kilidar 1981, 10-20.

portrayal was breaking with entrenched conservative Turco-Circassian elite traditions, a fact which warranted justificatory elaborations on the part of these magazine- editors who

Figure 27

Figure 26

sought to establish Egypt as a modern nation with modern gender politics.[394] At this historic juncture, it is important to toss aside the stark East-West cultural differences, for despite a strong native attachment to traditional culture, Egypt's urban centers had been home to foreign banks and multiple European communities since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1861. Having maintained a relationship of tutelage with France, which regularly received

[394] However, the Western lifestyle witnessed in these pictures was not a recent simulation of European royals residing across the Mediterranean; for modern changes a l'Europeenne had been underway since the urban developments of the Fraoncophile Khedive Ismail (nicknamed Cairo's Hassman) who turned Cairo's streets into French-looking boulevards, using Haussman's Paris' mid-nineteenth-century urban developments as inspiration. The Khedive Ismail routinely consumed French cheeses and wines and employed costly French couturiers to maintain his dandy appearance, and had set a new court culture model where French was the language of communication and etiquette.

educational missions of students from Egypt, there was no question of stark differences in terms of culture and lifestyle between Europe and Egypt's elites in the private realm. King Faruk and his sisters spoke French within the palace of their residence, had French nannies and tutors, and had vacationed in France and Switzerland in his youth. In fact, by the time of Faruk's engagement, the royal palace had become home to frequent dancing balls where the princesses mingled with other relatives and friends, dining a la Francaise (Fig 29.), sipping champagne poured by black butlers, and smoking American cigarettes in lavish palatial verandas. Despite this, the family image Egypt's royals gave when outside the private realm of the family was conservative and Muslim, like the wearing of the *yashmek* in public; so even though Faruk's family regularly indulged in Western pleasures, *Images*' coverage was confined to family scenes from Faruk's childhood that primarily reflected bourgeois family values. The focus on Nazli sought to emphasize the primordial place played by female relatives in the making of Egypt's king, and Egypt by extension, but their

subjects' sophistication implied an essential relationship between taste and feminine moral idealism.

The press's presentation of Nazli's Westernized identity in the private-realm of the family was part of Egypt's treatment of the woman question, aiming to articulate the nation's gender issue in terms of modernity (Abu-Lughod, 1998). Being at the center of the colonial gaze, Egypt's woman had to be refashioned for the nation to claim its place among modern nations, and in this context, Nazli's depiction as Western and unveiled in the private space of her home mirrored the level of the country's progress through taste. For decades, women's veiling and seclusion from the public realm occupied center stage in the debates that ensued between the British government and Egypt's intellectuals and reformers[395]. For Britain, the two practices seemed alien and were the most visible cultural signs of civilizational difference, so they became politically and morally-loaded and deployed in

Figure 28

[395] See Renata Pepicelli 2017, 201-219.

the service of justifying the continuing British occupation of the country. This moralism dominated the discussion on women's veiling and seclusion in Egypt and made the emancipation of native women a nationalist project articulated through the language of moral redemption (Kandiyoti, 1991). Nazli's Europeanized appearance in the private realm of the family was part of exhibiting Egypt's modern status simultaneously through a practice of contemporary fashion and a natural performance of domesticity. Modernity was expressed as a moral issue in addition to being a civility and development issue, but independence required holding on to native signs as well---native symbols that were incorporated within Egyptian modernity's ethos.

Idealizing Egyptian mothers had started decades earlier in Egyptian women's magazines turning the home into a complex space where family members participated in the construction of a novel body politic.[396] The home was depicted in realistic and idealized ways in response to colonialism, turning the domicile itself into "a discourse of modernity and a vehicle through which knowledge was shaped and disseminated," thereby becoming a central space for the definition of middle-and-upper-class identity politics.[397] While Egypt's woman question was at the forefront of national politics for three decades, it was not until the 1930s' that it took on a conspicuous aesthetic and class orientation in the illustrated press, projecting the home life of Egypt's royals. The ready availability of photographs also enabled the foreign-born Christian communities, who mostly controlled the press in Egypt and who were invested in a Western-identity-bound national culture, to

[396] See Lisa Pollard. *The Family Politics of Colonizing and Liberating Egypt,* 2000.

[397] Ibid.

project an Europeanized collective feminine identity in their publications (Fig. 30[398]). Nazli's national representation as a symbol for

all Egyptian mothers was facilitated by the fact that Egyptian independence was a gendered role since the 1919 Revolution, which wielded Egypt's educated mothers like a weapon

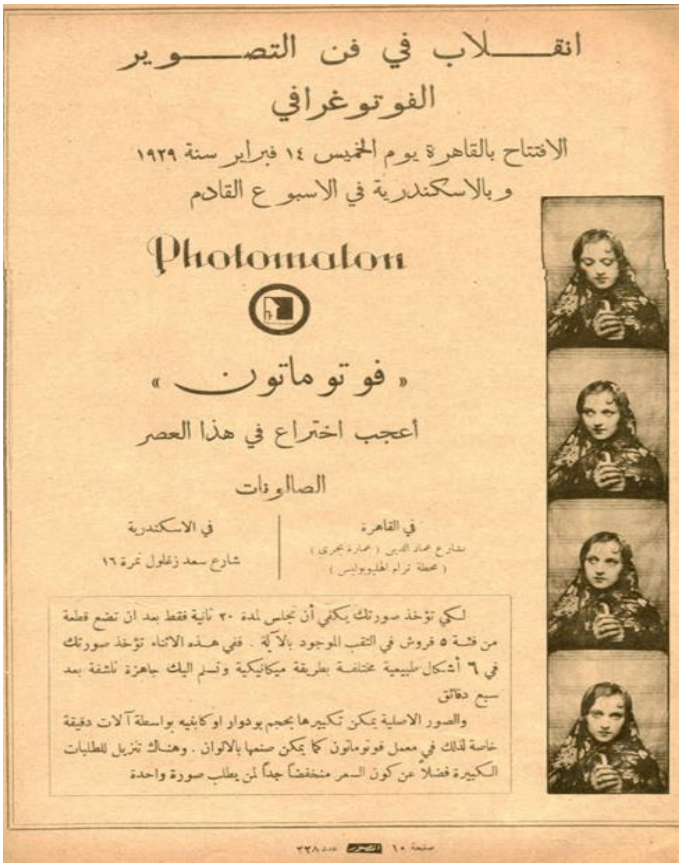

Figure 29

against British occupation, showing that Egypt's maternal figures were substantial proof that the country was equipped to govern itself. This history helped make family politics the center of the independence struggle for Egyptians. In this process, the nation's children

[398] See *al-Musawwar*, February 22, 1929. The caption in Arabic reads, "Photomaton: A Revolution in the Art of Photography."The photo booth was conceptualized by a Jewish Siberian immigrant to the US by the name of Anatol Josepho. He patented the very first photo booth which he called the "Photomaton" in 1925. We see it advertised by al-Musawwar a mere four years after its invention.

were equally central to Egypt's nationalist reform discourse, showing that commitment to reforming the home and the family were where the focus on the nation's progress and welfare lied. But while family politics turned into a gendered discourse that abstracted its moral values from an elite feminine identity, it involved men as well, for there was a kind of maternalism exercised by both men and women within the household for the benefit of the nation's children.[399] But the household became more than a new field for the construction of new sexual and social relationships and the practice of a novel politics of the nation, for it also organized and gave shape to a new taste-governed national culture. It is true that maternalism and motherhood served to deny and undermine the colonialist claims that the colonized nations lacked adequate political and social order for independence[400], but motherhood within Egypt's domiciles was defined in the discourse of the illustrated press according to a politic of taste, merging in the process national identity, moral disposition, *savoir faire* and *bon goût.*

This taste-bounded maternalism responded to the British fixation on Egypt's women and the private realm, and in fact, "while women did have a maternalist discourse of their own in Egypt[401], male nationalists borrowed both familial arguments and images from male colonialists" in carving up a nationalist gender and family politics[402]. It is important to read King Faruk's celebrated romance within Egypt's history of gender

---

[399] Pollard 2000.
[400] Chattarjee 1989, 1993; Stoler and Cooper 1997; Mani 1998.

[401] Badran 1995; Baron 1994; Russell 1997

[402] Pollard 2000.

relations, especially as they pertained to the royals. Before him, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the khedive Isma'il was portrayed by the British as a perverted, self-indulgent, polygamous Muslim ruler whose unbalanced ambition led to his unsound financial policies:

> Lord Milner, who was sent by Her Majesty's Government to oversee the implementation of some sort of protectorate state, wrote: 'The tremendous financial smash which marked the closing years of the reign of Isma'il Pasha was the result of a disregard, not only of every economic, but every moral principle" (Milner 1909, 212). Such descriptions placed Isma'il in the position of being at once modern and backward, capable and incompetent. What rendered his reform programs inadequate in the eyes of men such as Dufferin and Granville was not simply the debt that Isma'il incurred in carrying them out, but the lack of morality that undergirded them.[403]

British dispatches circulated accounts of Isma'il's polygamous lifestyle and went so far as to spread rumors on Tawfiq Pasha who succeeded him as Khedive in 1879. The British Foreign Office often sent dispatches with obvious associations between the Khedival house's disreputable and questionable morals and their ability to run the affairs of the country. "One such dispatch, for example, threw Egypt's royal lineage into question by claiming Tawfiq to be Isma'il's bastard son, conceived not only out of wedlock but in the most sordid circumstances: Isma'il's rule was also maligned vis-a-vis the sexual politics of his mother, who was alleged to have lured good-looking young men to the palace nightly, only to dispose of their bodies in the Nile at day-break." [404] This gender-image tapped from

[403] Ibid., 53.
[404] Ibid. According to Cromer, the domestic practices that gave rise to what he called the "idiosyncrasies of Pashadom" could only be weeded out through a long process of reform at the end of which the Egyptians would be both morally and politically sound.

an Orientalizing and sexualizing seventeenth-century. European discourse that had long equated the sexual and gender politics of Eastern culture with tyranny and immortality.

In response to this history, the photographic magazines capitalized on symbolic loci of culture in colonial politics, like, feminine virtue, monogamous love, and civility. In this context, Nazli's idealized femininity and motherhood, royal ceremonial, class, and the future of the Egyptian state became one in the Queen Mother's depiction. Nazli's highly refined appearance was framed within bourgeois and high-middle-class values of femininity, strangely mixing the middle-class virtues of maternal nurture and sacrifice with the culture of distinction. The article, thereby, does not neglect to mention that the Queen Mother is a descendent from an Albanian line of aristocrats, that her late father, the Pasha, Abdel Rahim Sabri, was a minister, and one of the most trusted councilors of the late King of Egypt, Fuad. The authors make a point to mention that Sabri Pasha's iconoclastic and progressive character was demonstrated by his decision to send young Nazli to Paris to study French literature, unlike the customary practice of contenting oneself with private tutors at home Egypt's photographic press had been publishing images of native Egyptian royalty since the early 1920s[405], starting with photographs of the male members of the monarchy as early as 1908 and gradually giving readers glimpses of its female members. The practice of publicizing royals was commonplace in European countries, but it was not an accepted practice among Egypt's elites who viewed the publication of women's faces and bodies as taboo, something of an affront to the dignity of the female members of the

[405] *Al-Musawwar* (the illustrated paper) (1925-1969) was published by *Dar-al-Hilal* by Shukri and Emil Zaydan brothers and was the first Arabic publication to use pictures.

family. This practice was changing with King Faruk's accession to the throne of Egypt (1936), and indeed, as a youthful king, he was a symbol of a relatively liberal monarchical rule. *Images*' politics were not an outlier in terms of embracing the image of *la Femme Nouvelle*[406] (new woman), for consumption habits and conventional eteronormative ideals were often packaged in contemporary Egyptian magazines which routinely published photographs of foreign actresses, scientists, and athletes. However, *Images* went further by publicizing the private pictures of the royal family, thereby inscribing elite taste with virtue and couching the royal females' images of beauty and refinement within a nationalistic discourse of pluralism and inclusion while further legitimizing the king's rule of the country. Ideological contradictions were reconciled through appealing to class distinction and patriotic fervor; for the royal women were portrayed as both virtuous and modern, educated yet dedicated to their families, egalitarian, yet aristocratically distinguished, simultaneously worldly and secluded, progressive and submissive, embodying a series of contradictions that moral taste neutralized.

The article suggests that the king partly derives his legitimacy from the status of his sophisticated mother, Nazli, a modern virtuous woman who also aesthetically represented a model-figure for many elite women and for the foreign communities on whom a big part of Egypt's economy depended. The royal marriage was publicized in a carefully wrought discourse, which not only spoke to Egyptian Muslim nationals who did not want to see

---

[406] *Al-Mar'a al-jadida* (The New woman) (1900) was an important feminist book by Qasim Amin (1867-1908). In his book, Amin envisioned 'the new woman' emerging in Egypt whose conduct and actions were modeled from the Western woman. *The New Woman or La Femme Nouvelle was also* a French cultural and literary magazine addressing the country's elite with the Sorbonne-educated and feminist Doria Shafik (1908-1957) as editor-in-chief.

their religious and Arab identities threatened, but also to the European and other Arab nationals who had lived in Egypt for generations. This pushed the magazine editors into expressing Egypt's royal house's quintessential modernity by means of a dialectic of self-Orientalizing, opening with the following lines:

> Dans les pays orientaux, dit-on, l'influence des femmes est presque inexistante. C'est qu'elles sont invisibles. Vivant dans le harem, elles ne prennent pas part active à la vie extérieure du peuple". Pourtant depuis les temps les plus recules, l'ascendance de la femme s'est toujours fait sentir au sein de la famille. C'est vers elle que l'homme se tourne dans ses moments d'angoisse, et c'est elle qui également partage ses joies. Et c'est aussi elle, et ceci est sa qualité suprême, qui façonne l'âme des enfants.[407]

Invoking an ethnographic understanding that " l'influence des femmes est presque inexistante" in the Orient and that "elles ne prennent pas part active à la vie extérieure du peuple," it a brought up a collectively-shared value between East and West that "Pourtant depuis les temps les plus reculés, l'ascendance de la femme s'est toujours fait sentir au sein de la famille." The man turned to her in his moments of anxiety and shares his joys with her. The woman is also, and here lies her best quality, the one " qui façonne l'âme des enfants."[408] This passage is significant because it adopts a nineteenth-century European gender discourse that conceptualizes of the ideal woman as a source of nurture and virtue within the confines of the elite and bourgeois home despite addressing a predominantly Muslim readership.[409] The influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau's pedagogy books, such as

[407] *Images,* January, 1938, p. 21.
[408] Ibid.
[409] Figs. 30 and 31 show Safinaz (later Queen Farida), wife of King Faruk, in the privacy of her palace. Fig. 31 shows her as a bride (Source unknown). Fig. 32 illustrates a portrait of her on the cover of *Images* on the occasion of her birthday (Sept, 1942).

Emile[410] (1762) is obvious in the very language used in describing the mother's role, being the one who "*Façonne le caractère des enfants*" (shapes the character of children). The article opening lines strangely employ an Orientalist and Orientalizing logic that was

Figure 30

Figure 31

commonplace amongst Europeans, often depicting Muslim women as virtually inexistant in public life due to being secluded within the harem. This justifies the editorial apologetics dealing with the issue of gender, speaking to an imaginary critical voice from outside and feeling the need to acknowledge the harem practice prior to engaging in highlighting Nazli's "progressive" role in the making of the nation. In fact, beginning with Egypt's independence from Britain (1922), Egypt had been a tense terrain of feminist voices, contesting the elite practice of seclusion and veiling. By acknowledging the royal gender

[410] Jean Jacque Rousseau's *Emile (1762)* was one of the most important pedagogical books to be translated by the Egyptian scholar, al -Tahtawi, a product of French travel and tutelage, a great Imam of Islam, and a travel writer.

practice of seclusion as not ideal for the modern nation, *Images* eases the tension of anticipated disagreement and proceeds to argue that harem life did not preclude the Queen Mother, Nazli, from playing the most important role in the nation, providing Egypt with a sensitive and well-educated king. In this context, the Queen Mother, Nazli, was "most and foremost an "*Auguste Mère"* (noble mother), whom Egypt owes (*lui doit*) the great education of the King Faruk, his "*formation spirituelle*," (his spiritual education) taking care to place her role within the realm of the king's home and sensibility; that is within the moral and aesthetic judgment of Faruk.[411] What truly strikes me in these lines is their careful intermingling of domesticity and elite taste with nationhood, enforcing Queen Nazli's spiritual input in the advancement of all of Egypt by means of palatable traditional gender politics and her appealing appearance. However, Nazli's exemplary motherhood and successful upbringing of the king, derive, not from individual effort or some innate quality, but are the fruits of historic accumulations, namely aristocratic lineage. In fact, half of the article is dedicated to the Queen Mother's taste and noble descent, detailing the historical role her paternal line played in the making of modern Egypt and the connection of the family's heroism with Nazli's exemplary virtue and taste:

> Née à Alexandrie le 25 Juin 1894, S. M la Reine Mère appartient a une des grandes familles aristocratiques du pays. Elle descend du côté paternel du grand Suliman

[411] *Images*, 21.

> pacha, ce colonel de Seves qui en s'établissant en Egypte se convertit à l'islamisme et fut un des grands soldats de Mohamed Ali.[412]

Educated at the *Mère du Dieu* (Mother of God) Catholic boarding school,[413] the Queen Mother has acquired a great cultural education, and, as a result, she has taken a strong interest in all the activities that women usually overlook. "Ce fut elle qui surveilla ses premiers pas. Elle s'intéressa ensuite à ses études autant que le faisait son père, le Roi Fouad, et le temps venu, elle fit le sacrifice de laisser son fils partir pour l'Angleterre parce qu'il lui fallait faire la une partie de son apprentissage en métier de Roi." Though feminine and nurturing within the home, "ceci ne l'empêcha pas de prendre une part active à la vie du pays," grasping the primordial role she plays as the mother of the future king of Egypt. But once again, it is her aesthetic sensibility and her aristocratic lineage that take precedence, marrying her active role in the affairs of the State and the management of power with her delicate education and upbringing:

> Éduquée au pensionnat de la Mère du Dieu, la Reine Nazli possède une vaste culture. Elle lit beaucoup et s'intéresse à tous les évènements qu'en général les femmes délaissent. Ainsi la mode et l'art voisinent dans ses goûts avec la littérature et les voyages. Son influence à ce point de vue sur le Roi Farouk est fort visible.[414]

Note how the Queen Mother's grace and worldly knowledge figure as essential ingredients in her personality and tastes, which encompass both fashion and the arts, literature and travel, which significantly for the article's discourse, she has passed on to her son, King

---

[412] Ibid, 21.

[413] French catholic schools used to be prominent in Egypt, as the modernizing Khedive Mohamed Ali, had started a relationship of tutelage with France that lasted well into the 1950s with the dominance of the French language in education and the Napoleonic code in Egypt's juridical system.

[414] *Images,* p. 22.

Faruk. “Image de grâce, la Reine Mère est fort belle et porte la toilette avec une rare élégance" and “Au cours de son dernier voyage en Europe, des articles enthousiastes sur son charme, sa dignité, sa beauté parurent sur un grand nombre de journaux français, anglais, et suisses.” [415]


حضرة صاحبة الجلالة الملكة نازلى وصاحبات السمو الملكى الاميرات عند مغادرتهن محطة ليون فى باريس فى طريقهن الى مرسيليا ومنها الى مصر . ويرى
توديعهن محمود فخرى باشا وزير مصر المفوض فى باريس .

Figure 32

To understand the role of illustrated magazines in connection to Egypt’s national politics of taste requires revisiting the reform issues that circulated in literature. The country’s self-

[415] See Fig. 32. The exact source is unknown (probably *al-Musawwar* or *al-Ithnayn wa Dunya*), both are major contemporary illustrated magazines in Arabic that carefully followed the activities of Egypt’s royals. The article is on the Queen Mother, Nazli Sabri and her daughters’ trip in Europe. The caption in Arabic

governance depended on the success of *Taribiya* (education of the young). School curricula and textbooks became the stuff of conduct recipes and etiquette manuals. The home was often involved as the space where these adequate behaviors unfolded, articulating once more the domicile as the ideal space for the consolidation of the new body politic of the nation. For example, in 1885, the curriculum of the primary schools offered a class on private behavior called *durus al ashya'* (object lessons) which primarily covered subjects such as proper dress, cleanness, the management and structure of the home.[416]

> In 1896 *adab and tarbiyya* were separated from "object lessons" and made part of a new class called tahdhib (self-edification) (Egyptian Ministry of Education 1901). By 1901, this class was listed as having as its purpose the production of "the best of human behavior for interactions at home and outside the home; care of the body; proper clothing; manners for eating; correct times for eating," and the cultivation of the things that the person had to do in private "such that the order of the public sphere (al-hi'a al-'amumiyya) would be preserved." By 1907, a course called al-tarbiyya al-qawmiyya (state upbringing) had come into existence. The course was taught in the elementary, primary, and secondary schools, which by 1916 were teaching 10,421 girls and 27,337 boys (United Kingdom 1916). By the 1920s, the course was called "national upbringing and morals" {al-tarbiyya al-wataniyya wal-akhlaq) (Egyptian National Archives 1992). [417]

The private politics of the home and the manners and habits of the citizen, which in fact were bourgeois, constituted important constructive components in the citizenship programs taught in schools, and which emphasized productivity within the politics of the nation.[418] In this process, Egyptian modernity was articulated in terms of personal hygiene and

---

reads, "her royal highness, Queen Nazli and their Royal Highness, the princesses, are leaving the Leon Station in Paris and heading towards Marseille and then to Egypt. The Egyptian Ambassador in Paris, Mahmoud Fakhri Pasha is there to see them off."

[416] Hasan, 'Abd al-'Aziz 1913, *Durus al-akhlaq*.

[417] Pollard 56.

[418] Russell 1997; Shakry 1998.

mannerisms, which were the stuff of textbooks. *Adab* (proper manners) and reading were inserted in a variety of school subjects, inculcating the personal behaviors and habits that are most visible and that define bourgeois subjectivity. *Adab* and grace in the domestic realm were aligned with virtue---a virtue practiced first within the home. In this context, the private life of the monogamous khedive Tawfiq of the previous decades was held as a model to be emulated and a source of national pride in the late-nineteenth-century. By marrying only one wife and taking care to put her in the public eye, Khedive Tawfiq changed the negative family image that surrounded his predecessor the polygamous khedive Isma'il.[419] This royal household display was a deliberate exhibition of Egypt's home practices; it meant to send the clear message that the private life of Egypt's leader reflected that of the average Egyptian national.[420] This display of the "royal couple," decades earlier, in a similar fashion to the focus on Nazli and Faruk's private lives, symbolized the abandonment of the khedival wife seclusion that dominated previous decades, showing that the khedive's monogamy paralleled the state's success in state economics and politics[421]. In fact, since the 1890s, the domicile was the chosen site for the

[419] Fig. 33. A large photograph of King Tawfiq and his spouse printed as part of his wife's obituary by *Images* in 1931. This is a reprint of the khedival couple's photographs taken decades earlier.

[420] Pollard 2000.

[421] See al-Ahram 23 September 1887; In fact "Negative images of familial behavior were also used to criticize the politics of the khedives. The most outstanding examples of such images are found in Ya'qub Sannu"s satirical political journal, *Abu Nazzara Zarqa'a* (The Man with the Blue Spectacles), which was published in Egypt until 1878, and later in Paris and smuggled into Egypt after Sannu' was exiled for his critiques of the khedive. It appears nonetheless to have continued to enjoy a wide readership in Egypt, and is said to have been read aloud to the illiterate" See Gendzier 1966 and Cole 1993 in Pollard's *The Family Politics of Colonizing and Liberating Egypt, 1882-1919*

construction of Egyptian identity, making the domestic activities and duties of women within the home a central theme in the women's journals of the 1890s.[422] Hind Nawfal had


المصور

وفاة ام المحسنين

Figure 33

initiated the process with *Jaridat al Fatat* (the Young Woman), which routinely covered home economics and management through its *tadbir al-manzil* column. A unique feature of this journal is its consistent correlating the success of the home politics with public and national success in general.[423] The graceful elegance and maternal competence of Queen

[422] Baron 1994, Booth 1997, Russel 1997.

[423] Pollard 2000; In its fourth issue, for example, the journal ran "The Politics of the Home," in which the relationship between the home and the public realm was articulated. The author emphasized that *tadbir al-manzil* was key to relations both inside the home and in the public sphere: "The house that is well-mannered and well-furnished enables its [male] owner to learn and take charge of the rights and responsibilities he has to the members of his household, and those outside his household, "Jaridat al-Fatah 1893, 4, 166.

Nazli need to be read within the woman's issue in the press of previous decades where emphasis on home management equated to women's ability to govern the nation's small social unit, the nuclear family. Alexandra Avierno's early women's journal, *Anis al-Jalis* (The Intimate Companion) frequently covered issues on *tadbir al-manzil* (home economics) through columns titled *al-haya al-manziliyya* (domestic life); *sh'un al manzil* (home affairs); *al-hayah al-zoujiyya* (married life); *mamlaka fil-beit* (a kingdom in the house); and *tarbiyyat al-atfal* (the upbringing of children). These columns often incorporated the view that women's adequate behavior at home determined how their children and spouses would fare in the public realm. This was part of a communicative and

Figure 35

Figure 34

ideological strategy implemented by the national press to show to the British who had attacked the Egyptian home as inadequate for the production of productive independent nationals, that the Egyptian home was ready for self-rule. The emphasis on home

management and proper etiquette were formative of a new discourse on adequate citizenship, merging the ideals of nationalism, motherhood,[424] and bourgeois class culture.[425] Just to show to what extent the discourse of the press merged the three, a political cartoon that appeared in an illustrated paper in 1920, employed table etiquette as a metaphor for Egypt's readiness to address Britain as an equal. in fact, the cartoon was meant to articulate Egyptians' right to independence, and understanding the importance of emphasizing authentic identity and the place women occupy in the latter, the cartoon presented an Egyptian woman with a thin veil sitting at a restaurant dining table, ready to place her dining order to the waiter, representing England, holding a menu where the course of food she (Egypt) ordered was independence and freedom. The seated position of the Egyptian woman fits the mannerism of "tabletalk" that dominated *tadbir al-manzil* (home economics) columns of the women's periodicals[426], suggesting her familiarity with Western table etiquette and her complete readiness for progress--a progress nevertheless carried out on her own indigenous terms, since she had kept the Egyptian thin veil and the

[424] Fig. 35. Queen Farida (previously Safinaz Zulficar), wife of King Faruk with her daughter Feryal on the cover of *Images* of the December issue, 1945.

[425] Fig. 34. Queen Farida, (Safinaz) wife of King Faruk and his sister, Princess Fathiya on the cover of the December-1945 issue of *Images.* The caption in French reads, "her royal highness, the queen at the parliament".

[426] Lisa Pollard delineates the metaphor of the dining table in the reform politics of Egyptian national culture. She cites examples like the monthly journal *al-Hilal* (The Crescent), which carried a semiregular column called *hadith al-ma'ida*, or "Table Talk," and which was meant to offer advice on nutrition and hygiene and home lifestyle "We call it table talk in order to indicate that it includes the kinds of things that should be talked about, in terms of food, and, at the same time, humorous and useful topics of discussion" (*al-Hilal*[Cairo] 8 September 1900). The table, according to Pollars, was placed as a space for addressing health, lifestyle, but in this process, table manners "shaped discussions that were considered useful to Egyptian families," 62; see also the journal *al-Ustadh* (The Professor), which often combined polits with the private realm, using domestic matters as vehicles for the the discussion of politics and ideas on national progress. "Articles such as "National Life" from August 1892, and "Why They Progressed and We Did Not, Even Though We Were All Created Equal" from November of that same year both attached "progress" and "nationalism" to the ability of governments to centralize and enforce education," 64.

modest Egyptian dress advocated in the women's periodicals. Printed in several contemporary magazines, the cartoon attests to how domestic activities and national liberation shared common nationalist goals. The waiter represents England; the diner is Egypt. He asks her: "What will you have, my lady?" She responds: "A platter of independence and, along with it, a dish of freedom."[427] She is also fully aware of her individual right to freedom---a freedom earned through a mastery of etiquette[428]. The dining room was the site for the forging of international diplomacy. Also, the identity of the woman in the cartoon is constructed as fashionable and hybrid, taking care to illustrate her fashionable sense, a seemingly important component in the identity of the new woman: "While her attire suggests the maintenance of a certain degree of "non-Westernness," it also reveals that Egypt is modern and has a taste for the latest fashions. Her arms are bare, her shoes are fashionable." [429]

In a contemporary newspaper called *al-Ustadh* (The Professor), which routinely ran articles on home economics, proper behavior in the private realm and national politics, not only discursively fused the three subjects, but it went to so far as to explicitly argue that Government reorganization in Egypt strengthened the family not solely because it had enhanced Egypt's economic status, but because it had offered the education through which new models for behavior were set up.[430] As Egypt's independence was simultaneously

---

[427] *al-Lata'if al-Musawwara*, 20 August 1920.

[428] Pollard 2000.
[429] Pollard 64.

[430] *al-Ustadh*, 3 August and 29 November 1892.

incumbent on its espousal of modernity and the articulation of authenticity, Islam became critical as an ideological vehicle for claiming both native authenticity and a moral code of ethics reconciled with European morality, but still did not emanate from the West. Intellectuals like Muhammad Abdu (1849-1905) and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) insisted on the need to better interpret Islamic texts in order to modify culturally-entrenched gender customs like face covering and seclusion, ruling them as unIslamic. Even the secular Qasim Amin emphasized the alignment of Islam with modernity in his book, *Tahrir al-Mar'a*.[431] Egypt was now mostly represented as a woman who was unveiled, signifying both a new politics of nation and of gender. The sculpture "*Nahdah Misr*" (The Awakening of Egypt) by Mahmud Mukhtar erected in Cairo's central square, in 1928, represented the ultimate symbol of Egypt's nation, juxtaposing Egypt's antiquity with its present. The sculpture consists of a sphinx rising, symbol of the nation's awakening and ancient grandeur, the peasant woman lifting her veil symbolizes the nation's liberation from foreign intrusion.[432] This sculpture, though unveiled, presented a feminine model that was nevertheless authentically-Egyptian and differed greatly from the Europeanized appearance of the royal females that was portrayed in the press two decades later. *Nahdah*

---

[431] The publication of *Taḥrīr al-marʾah* subjected Qāsim Amīn to public approval but also severe criticism from the Khedival Palace, as well as from religious leaders, journalists, and writers. In response, he wrote *al-Marʾah al-ǧadīdah*, 1900, in which he defended his position and took some of his ideas further. In *The New Woman*, Amīn relies less on arguments based on the Quran and Sayings of the Prophet, and more on Western principles of development and modernity.

In Egypt, the first state secondary school for girls with a curriculum equal to that of boys' schools was opened in 1925. Women gained entry to university in 1929. Suhayr al-Qalamāwī became the first woman to receive a Ph.D. in 1941 and went on to teach in the Department of Arabic Literature at Fuʾād I University.

[432] Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*, 1997.

Misr (the Revolution of Egypt) centered on the figure of the female peasant, who belonged to an Arab ethnic majority, as an authentic symbol of both the Egyptian nation and of the Egyptian woman and seemed to defy the negative ethnographic discourse of the British colonizer. This representational choice reflected the complexity and plurality of Egypt's ethnic make-up on the one hand and the underlying ethnic and class contestations in the discourse on Egyptian identity that dominated the national discourse of earlier decades. Unlike *Nahdah Misr* sculpture, *Images* did not grant a standardized normalized status to the figure of the peasant, choosing to relegate his/her image to the "ethnic," "rural," "poor," and "uneducated" sign.

Unveiling in the 1920s was a loaded sign that became a locus of the nation and women's liberation, becoming a trope of modernity and national independence, but Egyptian cultural authenticity was equally embraced along this unveiling symbol. In 1923, Huda al-Sha'rawi and Shiza Nabrawi removed their veils in Cairo in protest.[433] As mentioned earlier, unveiling constituted a visible reversal of the two-centuries long Orientalizing representations of women in the East. In such politics, the West insisted on depicting women as submissive, veiled, indolent, and secluded.[434] Egypt's nationalism in the 1920s focused on portraying Egyptian women as unveiled in order to turn them into symbols of modernity and of the dynamism of the new nation, thereby incorporating women's status and culture into Egyptian nationalist iconography. But as noted in the illustrated press of later decades, this native iconography gradually gave way to feminine

---

[433] On her life, see Huda Shaarawi. *Harem Years,* 1986.
[434] See Kandiyoti Deniz 1991, 429-443

Western fashions, as women's education and participation in the workforce increased, turning the latter development into visible signs of progress and modernity. The fact that women's new position was subordinated to the politics of the nation and didn't stand on its own as a gender issue led to its aestheticization within the politics of the nation-state.[435]

The switching between the unveiled private-appearance of the royal females and their Yashmek appearance in public in the press mirrors the need to cling to native ethnic signs in the press and to differentiate oneself from Western women. Beth Baron differentiates Egypt's female nationalist iconography in the 1920s from its Western counterpart, which tended to be more liberal, like the French Marianne who appeared bare-breasted and lightly dressed. She emphasizes the native quality of this Egyptian iconography, confining the woman unveiling to the head, a fact which was also articulated by the feminist Nabawiyya Musa (1890-1951) who advocated education for Egyptian girls in her writings. But Egypt's educated urban women gradually abandoned the veil in favor of Western clothes and became increasingly present in the public arena through education and work. The Egyptian woman benefited from the borrowing of the institution of the West, like the implementation of legal and economic reforms and the standardization of education, but Muslim family law continued to govern the lives of Muslim women and little if no reforms were enacted in the domain of marriage, divorce, and inheritance legislation.[436] The reason for that was that Islamic law was in fact perceived as a firm sign of national authenticity, sending the message loud and clear that Western models can

[435] Baron 1997.
[436] See Esposito and Haddad 1998, 85-99.

govern the public domain, but not the private domain of the family. The traditional attachments to kin, religion, and ethnicity were tossed aside by the nationalist discourse, which presented itself as universal, but through clinging to the Shari'a in matters of family relations, it reaffirmed authentic cultural and religious values.[437] But this situation was being actively reversed by the illustrated press who used elite and bourgeois hegemony as a way to further divide gender culture in Egypt and model women's domestic role on that of their European counterparts, allowing Western culture into the private domain of the royals as projected though pictures and keeping the Muslim signs of culture in the public domain.

The situation of women in the unfolding of Egypt's nationalist project shows that Egyptian women gradually turned into a hegemonic class project. The symbolic contestations of ethnicity, language, class, and religion, as well as the three strains that dominated the discourse of the nation, secular, modernist, and Islamist, gradually eroded in the illustrated press in favor of the Western urban identity of the citizen represented by the elite consumerist, worldly woman. This was a problematic situation since Western patriarchal social structures tended to disadvantage and incapacitate women by relegating them to the domestic sphere while idealizing their situation as bourgeois, demur, and protected. This patriarchal bourgeois discourse enveloped women in an idealizing rhetoric of feminine moral purity, mostly attached to nurturing motherhood, but these systems confined Egyptian women's cultural input to the home and children. It is urgent to emphasize here that Egypt's gender situation was different before the dominance of the

[437] Kandiyoti 1991.

Western model of the nuclear family; for rural women who constituted the majority of Egyptian women were less likely to wear the veil or be confined in the home. Their tasks were very similar to those of the men, and their status in society was less gendered. Elite urban women, on the other hand, belonged to consumerist societies that were incumbent on the division of the public and private sphere and the visual performance of gender and class identities.

This, in fact, went hand in hand with the promotion of a new model of Egyptian citizenship, which depended on the woman's role within the bourgeois private realm. The illustrated press helped consolidate the private-public dichotomy, using a hegemonic discourse that presented women's domesticity as ideal and framed this new bourgeois social model according to the language of human rights. Ironic in this presentation is the one-sided racial and class depiction of this citizenship model, and which insured the preservation of social-class lines and the state-patronage system that existed within Egypt's multi-cultural and multi-ethnic environment. The differentiation between the public and the private domains played a central role in delineating boundaries of citizenship according to class privilege. Turner (1990) has anchored his typology of citizenship in the extent to which the state enters or abstains from entering the private domain.

A look back at Egyptian women's early journals from the late nineteenth century and the issues presented then show the evolution of these periodicals into more Westernized bourgeois homogeneous vehicles of culture. This attests to how consumerism and class hijacked not only Egyptian discourses of nationalism, but also native women's identities, turning them into embodiments of consumerism within the nuclear family before

becoming embodiments of the modern nation. The illustrated press of the 1930s strayed far from the heterogeneous picture of the Egyptian nation feminist women fought to preserve, through their nationalist views, unlike the one painted by their male counterparts.[438] In "Opening the gate," the experiences and views of women feminists, like the Syrian Hind Nawfal (1860-1920), the Egyptian Huda al-Sha'arawi (1879-1947), Durriya Shafiq (1908-1975), the Lebanese Zaynab Fawwaz (1860-1914), the Palestinian Mayy Ziyadah (1886-1941) are revealed diverse, reflecting a picture radically different from the homogeneous image presented by male nationalists. [439]"We see the emergence of different approaches to issues such as the "woman question", modernity and nation. In Egypt in the 1920s, for instance, as Margot Badran stated, "Hudà al-Šaʿrāwī (1879-1947) and many other Wafdist women were more radical in their nationalism than the male leadership." The course taken by the various discourses in the national press, especially women's journals, demonstrates the evolution of the nationalist narrative into an urban, Eurocentric, bourgeois civil and family discourse through the figure of the Egyptian female and the home. As a guardian and emblem of cultural authenticity and an embodiment of the nation, the Egyptian woman was hijacked into a state-project bourgeois at its heart. We saw how the illustrated press normalized and standardized the bourgeois civic and nuclear family model. Glamorous photographs, a national class-based aesthetic discourse, and French helped photographic magazines present the royal family as the epitome of the

[438] See Badran, Margot 1999; see also "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt, 1870-1925" in *Feminist Issues*, 1988, 15-34; Feminists, *Islam, and Nation*, 1995; Badran and Cooke, *Opening the Gates*, 2004.

[439] Badran and Cooke 2004

modern family. I noted earlier that the press homogenized a class and racial minority while discursively and graphically-diffusing an image of collective equivalence. The dominance of the Turco-Circassian and European-looking element in photographic magazines highlights the inherent contradiction in this nationalist discourse--the same exact contradiction found in class discourses that open themselves to general simulation while perpetually highlighting the legitimizing difference of one group above all the others.

As mentioned earlier, Egypt's feminist intellectual scene was thriving decades before Qasim Amin with a variety of feminine voices engaged in pondering women's social and familial roles and their relations to men, creating different reform agendas and plans for action. In pre-1919 Egypt, women intellectuals sought to enhance women's position within the home. But the profile of these women was by no means monolithic and reflected the plurality of Egyptian society in the-late-nineteenth-and-early-twentieth centuries with those advocating a secularist agenda that focused on women's education while others, the modernists sought to interpret Islamic texts to improve women's situation in the home while the Islamists emphasized a return to the true Islam, which had honored women and given them rights in the past. Hind Nawfal initiated the process by launching the first issue of *al-Fatah* in November 1892, stressing the need for a women's journal like the ones already in existence in Europe and America.[440] However, the early women's journals still

[440] Syrians initiated the press in Egypt and helped promote ideas about secularism and modernity in an environment of national activity; the Taqla brothers (Salim and Bishara) launched the newspaper, *al-Ahram* in the mid-1870s, and Adib Ishaq contributed in the founding of *Misr* an edited *Misr al-Fatah.* Syrians also pioneered literary and scientific journals, providing an important platform for the discussion of cultural and scientific issues. Faris Nimr, Ya'qub Sarruf, and Shahin Makariyus moved *al-Muqtataf* from Beirut to Cairo in the 1880s (they founded the daily *al-Muqtatam* as well), and Jurji Zaydan founded *al-Hilal* in 1892. See Philipp, *Syrians in Egypt*, 98; also see Nadia Farag, "al Muqtataf, 1876-1900: A Study of the Influence of Victorian Thought on Modern Arabic Thought. In 1892, Hind Nawfal started *al-Fatah* (The

combined indigenous concerns with European influences, which were explicitly stated in the first years of the feminine press by such writers as Hind Nawfal, Rosa Antun, and other women editors who mentioned European and American women's magazines as sources of inspiration going so far as to cite some by name:[441]

> The idea of separate women's journals, like the original inspiration for Arabic periodicals and newspapers, came from abroad, where the periodical had specialized by gender almost a century and a half earlier…Although there were significant variations between the periodicals of different countries and among them, general patterns emerged. These included an interest in family and marriage and a promotion of domesticity. Derived from foreign examples, the idea of a separate women's journal suited the segregation of Middle Eastern society.[442]

The main subjects covered in these journals were work, education and marriage, but they also focused on providing their female readership with historical role models in Arab women's biographies. These journals routinely ran sections on household instruction in culinary, hygienic, child-rearing, and other domestic activities and crafts. There was a tacit agreement that women's ideal place was the domicile, promoting an ideology of womanhood that encouraged female roles as mother, wife, and homemaker. These articles were also framed in terms of the rights of women and often included discussions on feminine education, emphasizing that women needed to balance their rights and domestic

---

Young Woman), which exclusively dealt with women's issues was a Syrian woman who retreated to a life of domesticity and philanthropy after initiating a new literary practice for Egypt's women through the women's journal; see Nasim Nawfal, "al-I'lan," *al-fatah* 1. No. 7, 1893, 289-90; Rosa Antun, "Jam'iyyat al-Sayyidat al-khayriyya fi'l-Iskandriyya," *al-Sayyidat wa'l-Banat* (Ladies and Girls) 2, no. 8,1906, 211-15; Labiba Hashim, "Shahirat al-Nisa'," *Fatat al-Sharq* (The Young Woman of the East) 2, no. 3, 1907, 81-82

[441] Beth Baron also argues that "A second or alternative source of inspiration for some Egyptian editors may have been the Turkish women's journals circulating in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire" 61.

[442] Ibid.

responsibilities. However, the interest in women's consumption habits was born in the early women's press; for important in these women's journals were the advertising sections, which included products and services offered mostly within urban hubs to middle-class and elite women, but they also catered to the needs and lifestyles of a diverse population of Egypt's females:

> Most of the advertisers in *Anis al-jalis*, which pioneered advertising and published more ads than any other journal, were situated in Alexandria (more specifically on the fashionable avenue of Sharif Pasha), with a few in Cairo and the odd one in Mansura, Tanta, and Port Said. Advertisers assumed that most readers of this journal had access to these markets and offered goods that appealed to those of modern tastes, including European-styled clothing, jewelry, perfume, pianos, light fixtures, photographs, insurance, medicine, sewing machines, and telephone service. Yet advertisers in journals such as *Fatat al-Nil* recognized the special needs of female buyers who remained secluded. They extended such services as home delivery, private showings, and female photographers. [443]

Like European women's journals, editors created a dialogue between writers and readers, routinely making personal contacts in their offices between editorial female delegates and readers. Female readers regularly sent essays and letters voicing their opinions on a wide array of subjects, like marriage, divorce, veiling, and work for women, with some of them becoming regular contributors. Baron cites Egypt's women's press as a pioneering venue for the expression of Arab women's views on these topics and for their interaction with new modern ideas and Western influences, for now Islam was not the only frame of reference for the expression of women's views on gender and new occidental references were now incorporated as well:

> debates about women's roles and rights in Egyptian-Islamic society were hardly new. A tradition of literature prescribing roles for women and criticizing behavior as Islamic or un-Islamic stretched back centuries and included juristic works,

[443] Baron 94.

> behavioral guides, and biographical dictionaries, among other texts…the historical record preserved only the male accounts of the exchange, however, and not the direct voices of those women with whom they argue. [444]

The active domestic woman's role as mother and homemaker seen glamourized by Queen Nazli's photos has a history in Egyptian feminists' desire to recast women's domestic roles as homemakers. These feminists were attempting to conceptualize more meaningful functions for women different from the traditional gender roles assigned to them by religion. The strong emphasis on the Queen Mother's role in raising the king of Egypt springs from the early campaigns of Egyptian Female intellectuals to articulate a new feminine model at home which enjoyed more responsibility. This relied on rearranging the Egyptian family roles and relations in ways that put the couple at the center and gave the child more attention. Naturally, "their vision exposed their urban and class biases," for "these were mostly women who did not have to work outside the home."[445] A failing of these early native feminists' discourses is that they were universalizing without being universal, creating programs for reforms in family law without considering the class and ethnic differences that existed between Egyptian women. "Their domestic ideology arose from specific socioeconomic circumstances and cultural considerations."[446] Another problematic in women's unitarian class and ethnic representation in Egyptian women's

[444] Baron 103.

[445] Ibid., 146.

[446] Baron argues that "Domestic work became professionalized with its own schools, texts, journals, and a jargon. Phrases like *tadbir al-manzil* (household management) and *rabbat al-dar* (mistress of the house) frequently appeared in the women's press.

literature lies in modernity's fusion with class taste, following a recipe of feminine subjectivity that equated to Egyptian's participation in modernity. The chic outward appearance of the royal females takes part in a modernity-phenomenon that has an idealized concrete form---a form embodied by the chic-Parisienne--who happened to be a domestic woman and mother of high virtue.

As noted in the discourse of *Images'* editors, Egypt's press imagined the Westernized model of feminine identity as a natural development of Egypt's early embrace of liberal journalism. The press was imagined as a liberating instrument from foreign occupation, and the political press, in particular, was born in Egypt with Khedive Isam'il's attempts to give anti-Western opposition a voice and to stop the foreign commission from overseeing Egypt's bankrupt finances in the late 1870s. Newspapers such as *Abu Nazzara Zarqa'* (1878-1884) and *Misr al-Fath* (1892-1894) emerged as a product of Isma'il's decision to give the green light to the press[447]. The women's press also took off in the late 1890s with journals, such as *Mir'at al-Hasna'* (Mirror of the beautiful), which was first published in 1896. Alexandra Avierino Anis al-Jalis published its first issue in 1898.

When Egypt's photographic press took off, France had already known great success in its image-oriented aesthetic discourse, a process which involved women's relationship to commodities and to the liberal moralism of the state. Women's illustrated periodicals in France like *Femina* (1901-1954) and *La Vie Heureuse* (1902-1917) were showing prominent feminine figures and celebrities, enjoying the bliss of domestic life without

[447] Ibid., 158.

seeing these women's intelligence curbed nor their participation in the success of their male counterparts, and the nation's development by extension. The division of gender roles in Europe was in fact popularized along images of domestic bliss and comfort, the home being an extension and a reflection of feminine character. Order and visual appeal marked the private space of the female and was meant to reflect her moral character. *Images* likewise adopted this journalistic model, incorporating photographs where great attention is lavished on the females close to the king by virtue of the important role they play in the advancement of the nation. This normalized women's participation in politics, but it primarily established moral taste as the foundation of politics and anchored the Queen Mother to the home. Nazli's confinement to the domestic/private space of the king's upbringing was phrased as a modern gender revolution, putting Nazli at the forefront of national politics. Qasim Amin's book, *Al-mar'a al-Jadida* (1900) had set a new national model of feminine identity based on education and a kind of domestic idealism centered on the important role of motherhood[448]. Like his predecessor, al-Tahtawi, he capitalized on the education of girls, insisting that Egypt's future generations depended on the excellent care of their mothers at home.[449] One year prior, Amin published a seminal book titled

[448] There were diverse views on veiling, and not all women feminists supported the espousal of Western appearance; for this time also saw the birth of the first Egyptian Mulsim women's organizations with Fatima Rashid's founding of *Jami'iyyat Tarqiyat al-Mar'a* (the Society for Women's Progress). They launched the monthly *Tarqiyat al-Mar'a* in order to advance their agenda and appointed Fatima editor. this organization supported veiling and sex segregation mainly relying on the rights of women granted by Islam. Fatima Rashid's husband, Muhammad Farid Wajdi (1875-1954) was an intellectual who advocated a return to the traditionalist Islamic values. He attached Qasim Amin with his book *al-Mar'a al-Muslima* (The Muslim woman). He composed a book called *al-Madaniyya wa'l-Islam* (Civilization and Islam) where he illustrated how Islam was aligned with modern civilization. He launched the newspaper *al-Dustur*, which voiced the views of the Watani party.

[449] See Mona Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman*, 2004.

Tahrir al-Mar'a (The Liberation of Women) where he ascribed children's ignorance to that of their mothers at home, locating thus the progress of the Egyptian nation within the domicile and in the input of the mother.[450]

It is important to link the orderly appearance of Faruk's mother, her maternalism, and immaculateness of Faruk's home and sisters to the classist and highly-gendered discourse that dominated children's education in Egypt at this time. The way girls, in particular, were prepared by the State to occupy specific social ranks is significant in this regard. Some of the passages that described Nazli and her future daughter-in-law read like feminine etiquette manuals that included sections on ideal child-rearing practices and spousal duties. In fact, these sections mirrored the heavily-gendered educational state-programs underway and their discourses. Critical in the *tarbiya* (education/child rearing) discourse at this time was the way class defined girls' participation in Egyptian society and culture. The kind of education that prepared girls in state schools was radically different from the one offered to upper-and-middle-class girls, for the taught curriculum incorporated activities, practices, and classes that privileged the girls who belonged to upper-class backgrounds, offering languages, art, dance, and piano lessons. These meant better opportunities not only for their social advancement but for the maintenance of the class-lines. The *effendi* class of men were being catered to in this way; for these middle-class male professionals and state employees needed a class of future wives adequate for

---

[450]Qasim Amin's books have been translated into English by Samiha Sidhom Peterson in a combined book called *The Liberation of Women and The New Woman: Two Document in the History of Egyptian Feminism*, 2000; see also Omnia El Shakry, "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play" in *Remaking Women*, 1998, 126–170.

dispensing the duties of the bourgeois home, like being good marital partners and good mothers to the *effendiya*'s children. Etiquette manuals (moeurs), articles, and books on *tarbiya* emphasized the future social dimension of the education provided to upper-and-middle-class girls.[451] Interestingly and reminiscent of the ideal citizenship discourse in both *Takhlis* (1826-1831) and *Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham* (1889-1903), the visiting of monuments, reading and listening to music were valorized spiritual activities that needed to be cultivated.[452] Combining discipline, attachment to an imagined community[453], and the dispensation of education along class lines, the nation-building project was at its core a hegemonic class project despite the contesting discourses within the feminist press. There was a deliberate educational state agenda which aimed at perpetuating class hegemony using the nationalist discourse---a discourse which was clearly tailored to different segments in Egyptian society. "Peasants, for building the army; mothers, for raising future citizens; middle class men, for strengthening national honor; and the poor, around whose needs politicians vied for power." [454]

[451] See Taha Husayn, *Mustaqbal al-thaqafa fi Misr*, 1938, 101.

[452] See Morrison. In 1905, the magazine *al-Tarbiya* (children's education) published an article which delineated two kinds of exercise possible for children, spiritual and physical. See "Which Education is more Influential: Education in the Home or in the School?" *al-Tarbiya*, March 1, 1905, 10.

[453] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2000.

[454] See Morrison 80; On how peasants were targeted for building the army, see Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*; on how women and girls were inculcated with gendered notions of social identity, like being entrusted with the future generations of the nation, see Lisa Pollard, "Learning Gendered Modernity" in *Beyond the Exotic*, 2005, 249–269; on how middle-class men were urged to consolidate the nation's honor, see Wilson Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity*, 2011.

The great attention the young Faruk and his younger sisters received in the photographic periodicals reflects Egypt's press's class-defined obsession with the colonial gaze. For decades, the colonial gaze had in large part been directed at Egypt's children, urging the country's intellectuals and elites to reform the country's young while clinging onto the Islamic heritage, which had provided important principles on *tarbiyat al-atfal* (the rearing of children)[455]. Like women's education, unveiling, and monogamy, children's education reforms constituted a backlash against the psychological and mental war Britain waged against Egyptians. The British often raised issues of Egypt's social and moral decline by depicting the state of its children as degenerate and uncivil. As is the case with class hegemony, these politics of Othering, by mixing race with class, urged and motivated Egypt's elites to adopt culturally-hegemonic programs as responses to Britain's moral attacks on Egypt. Concerned to prove themselves to the "bearers of civilization," the state implemented an agenda that was hegemonic at its core, inculcating Egypt's elite and middle-class children with bourgeois concepts and practices likely to produce an idealized model of citizens organized along class lines and with visible aesthetic manifestations. As mentioned earlier, this psychological weapon of coloniality was primarily wielded in the field of aesthetic judgment, making Egyptians feel a lack that needed to be filled and an identity template that clearly had an important visible dimension. Similarly to the negative portrayal of Egyptian women that dominated the British Foreign Office dispatches, Egypt's children, especially the rural children, were depicted as neglected and exploited by their

[455] Tahtawi wrote that there are three ways in which children should be nourished: first, feed the body; second, feed morality; and third, feed the mind. If any one of these nutrients is lacking in a child, then the child will be incomplete as an adult. A great mind, according to Tahtawi, is nothing without great morals. See Taha Husayn's *Mustaqbal al-thaqafa fi Misr*, 1938, 108.

parents in the fields through many photographic illustrations[456]. This colonial discourse constituted a kind of control over the mental sphere of Egyptians, often reinforcing the civility gap between Britain and Egypt through attacking Egyptian culture, societal structures, and lifestyles.

By 1923, elementary education became compulsory in Egypt for all school-age children, for Egypt's children became central to state-reform agendas. The child was perceived as an individual in need of cultivation, a process which involved his education in languages, history, geography among other subjects, aiming thus at developing the child's entire being. The goal of this comprehensive education was to solidify the mind and improve opinion and judgment. Self-restraint and the making of sound decisions were delineated as necessary qualities in Egypt's future adults. This education became thus the state's responsibility in order to insure the reproduction of fit generations of Egyptians likely to benefit the nation.[457] The prominent intellectual and man of letters, Taha Hussayn (1889-1973), articulated his concern for Egypt's future, emphasizing the role of early education for the nation's young.[458] A main feature of these children's magazines is the quality of their photographic illustrations, focusing on capturing children engaged in

---

[456] See Mine Ener, *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800–1952*, 2003.

[457] See Morrison. *Samir al-Tilmidh* [Samir the Student], for example, published several articles on geography, such as the forests of Congo and winter climates in Nordic countries; *Waladi* [My Boy] also emphasized geography, running an ongoing column called "Around the World" about transportation, food, water and natural resources in different regions.16 Muhammad al-Harawi, a children's poet, produced several collections of poetry in the vein of teaching children their importance to the nation as future workers and professionals.

[458] *Mustaqbal al-thaqafa fi Misr*, 108.

activities that depended on the consumption of objects. Children often posed with new technological devices, such as typewriters, automobiles, clocks, cameras, bicycles, telescopes, moving pictures and record players. These photographic scenes were staged in such a way to draw the viewer's attention to objects, not to the child. These objects seemed to define the child's identity in these images with accompanying captions that emphasized the role of the objects, not the child's active role in operating them. These photographs were suggesting that the child was valued through the objects owned, and not through the activities in which he/she engaged in addition to being a mere instrument for the future of Egypt, not a child valued independently from the nation. [459]

Social mobility in children's magazines was subtly communicated through changing ideas around children's education, thereby conveying the message that raising the child with objects of knowledge and staging a kind of infantile identity with the use of devices as props was one way to demonstrate belonging to the rising middle-class of effendiya.[460] It also seemed to suggest that Egyptian sons and daughters were thus being

[459] Morrison 78. For an example, see "Around the World" in a column focusing on China see *Waladi*, February 18, 1937.

[460] Fig. 36 shows Princess Fawzia in her childhood on the cover of *Al-Ithnayn wa-al-Dunya* on the occasion of her birthday (circa 1924). Fig. 37 shows Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret of Great Britain reading a book in their residence with a dog. The picture appeared on the cover of June 1942-issue of *Images.*

prepped for the adequate practice of future modern citizenship through being prepared for future state professions. This established an explicit link between knowledge,

Figure 36

Figure 37

consumerism, social mobility, and proper citizenship. The Egyptian child's new identity in these photographs was a homogenizing class instrument in the hands of state propaganda, for "becoming effendi, or effendification, was a strategy and performance for people from lower-class urban and rural backgrounds who wanted to join the ranks of middle-income families in mid-level government professions such as teaching or the law." [461]These magazines, through photographs, created a synergistic relationship between these new professions and Egyptian nationalism, and in fact "those who became upwardly mobile through education went on to engage in professions such as journalism that helped produce

[461] Morrison 78.

new ideas for the nation."[462] The indispensable place occupied by middle-class identity in nation building was being highlighted by these journalistic strategies[463].

Lucie Ryzova noted this phenomenon in Egypt, commenting that "state-building project based on liberal ideology and institutions needs a middle class[464]." This was fostered with a strong familial language used in the education manuals read by young students, teaching them that the love of nation equated the love of parents, thereby promoting a sense of collective belonging and sharing of a common heritage. This nationalistic sense of belonging was, in fact, vested in class symbolism, reinforcing elite and bourgeois identity as modular if not ideal for the practice of Egyptian citizenship, not to forget the fabrication of a need for simulation through these images.

The photographic covers of these magazines often included pictures of Egypt's prince Faruk, like the February 1934 issue of *Samir al-Tilmidh* (Samir, the Student), which features a picture of the prince with an announcement of birthday wishes to him on behalf of all the readers[465]. The children's press often inserted historic excerpts and bits on Egypt's

---

[462] Ibid.

[463] This journalistic trend in child education was not generalized across all Egyptian society, and in fact, the Salafi movement in Egypt saw that Egyptian identity came from its Islamic past and that the liberal ideals of the West are already in Islamic beliefs and practices. The Salafits advocated reforming child-rearing practices by following Islamic, Arab and Mediterranean models from the past. The intellectual ʿAbdallah al-Nadim (1845–1896) invoked the past as a source for upbringing, emphasizing the East's precedence in matters of child rearing.

[464] See Omniya El Shakry 2007; see also Lucie Ryzova, "Egyptianizing Modernity through the 'New Effendiya in Re-Envisioning Egypt, 2005, 131.

[465] See Ahmad Afandi Salih, Kitab ʿ*allimu al-atfal ma yafʿalunahu wa-hum rijal*, 1894, 22. 20*; Samir al-Tilmidh*, February, 1934; Kamil Kilani, *al-Malik al-Najjar*, 1935, 1.

pharaonic past to elaborate a national identity that can be traced to Egypt's ancient civilization.[466]

Since the 1920s, positive eugenics and maternal and child welfare was a very successful policy in Egypt, and they were connected to the women's question and the need to improve Egypt's population. In this context, motherhood was raised as a rational, scientific, and hygienic role targeted at the cultivation and maintenance of new kinds of children, situated within the women/motherhood and nationalist/modernity discourses (Omniya El Shakry, 2007). Social planning, child welfare, and scientific progress were critical for the new nationalist and reforming ideology, but they mainly focused on rural and working-class women. It was in fact the elite class of society that took upon itself to design and administer new family-planning and pedagogical programs. This was accompanied by a classist discourse which faulted poor mothers for failing to properly rear and care for their children due to their ignorance. Through a wealth of manuals, pamphlets and lectures, elite and middle-class women went about educating poor mothers on nutrition and hygiene.[467] This process involved public governmental organizations and private philanthropic associations which aimed at uplifting mothers by fusing feminist discourses with philanthropy and health[468], and indeed "the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU), which

[466] Harawi composed poems about the pyramids, the Sphinx, pharaonic holidays and the collection of antiquities held in *Qasr al-Nil.* The pyramids are depicted as the resting places of Egypt's ancient kings and exalted for being eternal and timeless.

[467] On European discourses of maternalism and their connection to imperialism, nationalism, and the welfare state, see Bock and Thane, *Maternity and Gender Policies*; Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood;" de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, chap. 3; Frevert, "The Civilizing Tendency of Hygiene"; Horn, *Social Bodies*; Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World.*

[468] See El Shakry 176.

was central to the women's feminist and philanthropic movement in Egypt, was from its inception fairly active in pedagogy for the working classes:

> The predominantly upper-class members of the EFU were engaged in class-consolidating activities that were both nationalist and feminist. As with their European counterparts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their activities often centered on the instruction of working-class women in proper domestic and child-rearing practices, which attempted to efface and recast class differences by formulating a middle-class ideal of domesticity and motherhood. [469]

The place of bourgeois domestic culture was important in these philanthropic programs, which included instruction in the domestic arts of sewing, weaving, and embroidery. The elitist motifs behind these projects are best illustrated by the feminist Faiza Nabarawi who declared that the formation of a professional and domestic school would "form women members of the working-class conscious of responsibility for their own existence," thereby inserting an elitist discourse that working-class women are somehow degenerate, lacking the indispensable ingredients for social development and welfare. Nabrawi's statement implies working-class women's irresponsibility, and through the reformist meliorist logic it adopts, it reinforces and appoints the middle-class women as models to be emulated.[470]

This class and family-politics is helpful in reading the press's introduction of the king's fiancé, the graceful Safinaz Zulficar who, according to *Images*, meets the royal

---

[469] Ibid., 177; See also Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*, 120

[470] See Arafa, *The Social Activities of the Egyptian Feminist Union*, 34; Nabarawi, 1932, quoted in *Badran, Feminists, Islam, and Nation*, 100, 112. Asad, Formations of the Secular, chap. 7. 7; Pollard, "The Family Politics of Colonizing and Liberating Egypt"; Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied*; Baron, Egypt as a Woman. For discussions of motherhood and the nation in Egypt, see Baron, "Mothers, Morality and Nationalism in Pre- 1919 Egypt"; Baron, "The Construction of National Honor in Egypt"; Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*; Ahmed, *Women, Gender and Islam*, chaps. 7– 10; Chakrabarty, "The Difference-Deferral of a Colonial Modernity"; Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 134. 54. See El Shakry , "Schooled Mothers and Structured Play." On Egypt' s philanthropic movement, see Abdel Kader, *Egyptian Women in a Changing Society*, 97– 99; Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*, 48– 52, 111– 23; Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt,* 169– 75.

standard of Egypt's king who can only pick a wife from his aristocratic entourage. Within such a politically-charged class-background, and which essentializes the patronage of upper-classes, the elitism of the discourse in the press becomes normal. Class-distinction in the logic of patronage equates with virtue, competence, modernity, and progress. In explaining King Faruk's choice of Safinaz Zulficar as wife, the editors say that "c'est dans l'aristocratie égyptienne que le Roi est allé chercher sa compagne, celle qui devait monter à ses côtés sur le Trône d'Egypte[471]" (Fig. 39[472]). Fig. 40 shows her visiting a hospital and consoling a sick girl. The caption in French reads, "*Une Caresse Royale*" (a Royal Touch)[473].

Figure 39

Figure 38

[471] See *Images*, January, 1938, p. 21.

[472] Fig. 39 shows Queen Farida (Previously Safinaz Zullficar), the wife of King Faruk, on the cover of the illustrated magazine, *al-Ithnayn wa Dunya*, circa 1939. She is wearing the Yashmek (the Turkish veil) during an official visit to an orphanage. The caption in Arabic reads, "the Queen at the Orphanage of *al-Huriya* (Freedom).

[473] Fig. 38 shows the cover of *Images*, May 12, 1941. She is also seen here wearing the yashmek in during an official visit in public.

Figure 41

Figure 40

In the same vein, the king's sisters are the epitome of grace, morals, and religiosity [474]. They are credited for having instilled in Faruk ``cette finesse d'esprit qui le caractérise," and which marked him, for "il n'y a rien qui affine les sentiments de l'homme comme le commerce des femmes," recalling once more Jean Jacques Rousseau's pedagogical contention in *Emile*[475]. The elitism of patronage programs was contingent on gender binaries, which were presented as natural and desirable with the country's royals as

[474] Figs. 40 and 41 show Princess Fawzia, the sister of King Faruk, wearing the Red Cross uniform on the cover of *al-Musawwar* magazine (Issue of June, 1948). The caption in Arabic reads, "Princess Fawzia, Egypt's First Benevolent Volunteer." Fig. 38 also shows Princess Fawzia on the cover of *Images* (circa 1942). Fig. 42 shows Princess Fawzia on the cover of *al-Ithnayn wa-al-Dunya* (July, 1944). The caption in Arabic reads "Princess Fawzia consoles the victims of the earthquake."
[475] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile.* Trans. Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books (1979)

Figure 42

exemplary.*Images* was participating in reinforcing this gender model as well, arguing that Faruk's refined and delicate side has not compromised his manly virtues, stating that "Cela n'empêcha pas le jeune Roi de se consacrer, même aux jeux violents, une partie de ses journées," and his visible splendid physique and excellent health are due to his daily habit of exercise. The piece elaborated on the princesses' allure within and outside of Egypt, and which is attributable to their high breeding and sense of taste. Their popularity comes from the fact that they are "Jolies" and "distinguées," due to the prefect "instruction" they received, and which is "digne du rang qu'elle occupait dans le pays." And though their popularity within Egypt is important, it is the "profonde" impression they left "partout où

elles passèrent en Europe, durant le long voyage" that validated their sense of taste and fashion. The magazine editors pointed out how in Europe "De tous côtés, on louait leur distinction, leur beauté, et surtout cette aisance qui caractérise tous leurs gestes et qui est un des précieux apanages de la Famille Royale d'Egypte[476]." Commenting on their authentic practice of class etiquette and royal protocol was brought up as a validating token of civility in the face of a gazing Europe; for the ease with which Faruk's sisters operated within the intricate game of distinction meant their possession of symbolic capital, not only the needed certification of high-breeding, but the needed affirmation of civility in the international arena, that is the performance of the subjectivity of choice for a world invested in consuming images and other forms of individual performativity. The admiration Egypt's princesses earned in the West meant Egypt's royal house's natural ability to vie for cultural equivalence with a critically-gazing Europe eager to point out the class-based failings of Egyptians. But, as mentioned earlier, the politics of nationalism in the postcolonial context meant simultaneous attachment to native signs and the practice of the outward forms of modernity required by the aesthetic recipe of the nation-state. Here, attachment to Islam becomes the very symbol of ethnographic difference and the country's aptness for sovereignty. In the context of demanding independence from Britain, Islam was wrought up in reform literature as a differentiating cultural and ethnic marker discursively configured around the values of modernity in ways that made the concrete forms of religious adherence consistent with participation in the class-oriented, worldly and

[476] See *Images*, January, 1938, 22.

consumerist culture of modernity.[477] In this process, the princesses were described as "Pratiquantes, soumettant aux préceptes religieux de l'Islam," who "se plient aux us et aux coutumes de l'Egypte," of which the Yashmek "de rigueur dans l'entourage de Sa Majesté[478]" was a prominent sign. The focus on the Western aspect of the princesses' culture was in fact one way to respond to Egypt's ethnically and religiously-diverse population's anxieties around the unitarism of the Islamic identity in national politics. The emphasis on class distinction, travel, education, and progress are part of a discourse likely to mitigate the concerns of many non-Muslim and foreign communities who feared that their interests were being threatened by the country's abolition of the regime of Capitulations, which had attracted foreigners to Egypt in the nineteenth century. The year 1938 marked a new phase in Egypt's legal and civic governance, ending the regime of Capitulations (May, 1937) a mere few months earlier, which meant to many non-Muslim Egyptians and foreign communities that Egypt was drifting towards religious monolithism. Capitulations had afforded Europeans and non-Muslim Arabs legal protections against a majority of Muslim Egyptians in the country, trying them in separate foreign courts according to the laws of their countries of origin. The increasing visibility of royal women in the press was meant to mitigate some of these fears and to project a modern Egyptian identity to the outside world. Egypt at this time was increasingly moving towards modernity, supplying more than 50% of the world's cotton, being home to several European communities and a financial hub to foreign companies, yet its society was still

[477] Egypt's independence from Britain was in 1922, but Britain maintained a tight economic grip over Egypt due to its interests in the Suez Canal and its foreign investments in the country until the 1950s.

[478] Ibid.

clinging to its conservative gender and family values in national politics. Magazines,

Figure 43

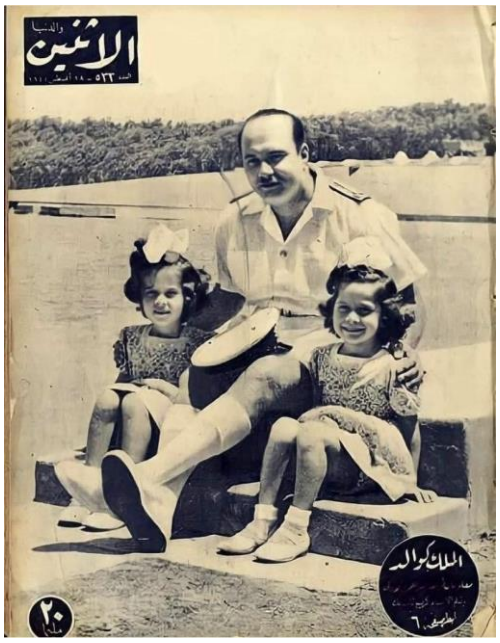

Figure 44

therefore, grappled with the need to present women as equal to men yet traditional in their dedication to their husbands and children (Fig. 43 and 44[479]); so, they had to find a way to portray them as embodying the spirit of modernity without threatening the conventional values that insisted on women's nurturing role within the *foyer* (house). Taste was at the vector of this presentation and seemed to reconcile between an emancipated, educated feminine identity and a nurturing one. Egyptian women's liberation was symbolized by Huda Shaarawi's (1879-1947) removal of the veil in public a mere three years after Egypt's revolution against the British in 1919. But she was a member of the elites with ties to other prominent women from Egypt's upper class, and though her feminism was concomitant with the Islamic conservatism of Egyptian society in the 1920s, the fact that she belonged

[479] Fig. 43 shows King Faruk, his wife, Queen Farida (earlier Safinaz) and their first-born daughter, Feryal on the cover of *Images* (August, 1941).

to a privileged category of women meant the dominance of their voice in the press and its easier incorporation into a later Europeanized consumerist feminist discourse. In fact, Shaarawi's founding of the first women's Francophone magazine, *l'Egyptienne,* is a strong indicator of this. The choice to address Egyptian women in French attests to the desire to engage her readership through foreign subjectivity modes, paving the way for other national magazines to comment and elaborate on women's situation, challenges, desires, and roles within society in elitist French. In fact, since the late 1920s, women consistently figured in contexts of publicity, philanthropy, cinema, and romance. I noted the consistent absence of low and middle-class women in the illustrated press, for despite their strong presence in the political scene, in literature, and print culture, their images were confined to a literate minority celebrated for its educational achievements whereas the poor and the peasants typically figured in the contexts of poverty and crime. On the other hand, Egypt's Queen Mother Nazli and her daughters consistently appeared on the cover of magazines as they dominated political and social events, such as philanthropy,[480] the military-nursing service and the Red Cross. They appeared benevolent, self-sacrificing, nationalistic, but above all chic and modern. Magazines like *al-Musawwar, al-Ithnayn wa-al Dunya, Kul Shay' wa-al-Dunya, al-llata'if al-Mussawara* presented royal activities, foreign royals'

[480] See Bonnie G. Smith, "when bourgeois women performed a charitable act, they envisioned it as an act in the spirit of hierarchy (noblesse oblige)**"** in *Ladies of the Leisure Class,* 1981.

news, women celebrities and models sandwiched between car, cigarettes, whiskey, cream, clothing, and perfume advertisements.[481]

Figure 46

Figure 45

[481] Fig. 46 and 47.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arabic Magazines and Newspapers:

Abu-Naddara
Al-Ahram
Akhir Sa'a,
Al-Dunya al-Musawwara
al-Dustur
al-fatah
al-Hilal
Al-Ithnayn wa-al-Dunya
Jaridat al-Fatah
Kull Shay wa al-Dunya
al-Lataif al-Musawwara
al-Madrasa
al-Manar
Misbah al-Sharq
Al-Mu'ayid
al-Muqtataf
al-Muqtatam
al Musawwar
Samir al-Tilmidh
Al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa
al-'Ustadh
Waladi

Francophone Magazines and Newspapers

Le Courrier de France
Femina
L'Éclair
L'Egypte Nouvelle,
L'Egyptienne
Le Figaro
La Gazette de Toulouse
L'Hirondelle de France
Images
L*e Journal des Debats*

Nouvelle revue.
Revue des Deux Mondes
La Semaine Egyptienne
Times
La Vie Heuresue
L'Univèrs Musulman

II Other Sources

Abu-Lughod, Ibrahim. *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters*. Princeton University Press, 1963.

Adam, Juliette. *L'Angleterre en Egypte*. Imprimerie du Centre, 1922.

Adams, James Eli. "Gentleman, Dandy, Priest: Manliness and Social Authority in Pater's Aestheticism." *ELH*, vol. 59, no. 2, 1999, pp. 441–66.

Adonis. *An Introdution to Arab Poetics*. Translated by Catherine Cobham, Saqi Books, 1990.

Adorno, Theodor W. "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening." *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Herder and Herder, 1972.

Ahmed, Leila. *Women, Gender and Islam*. Yale University Press, 1992.

al-Jabarti, Abd Al-Rahman. *Napleon in Egypt: Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the French Occupation, 1798*. Translated by Shmuel Moreh, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003.

al-Qushayrī, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj. "Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim." *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 1990.

al-Suyuti, Jamal al-Din. *Jami" al-ahadith li-l-Jami" al-saghir wa-zawa'idihi wa al-Jami" al-Kabir*. Matba"at Muhammad Hashim al-Kutubi, 1979.

Alloula, Malek. *The Colonial Harem*. University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

al-Rafi'i, Abd al-Rahman. *Mustafa Kamil, ba'ith al-haraka al-wataniyya*. 5th ed., Dar al-Ma'arif, 1984.

Amin, Dina. *Yaʿqūb Ṣannū'*. Edited by Roger Allen, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1850.

Amin, Qasim. *Al-Mar'a al-Jadida (The New Woman*. Translated by Translated and Samina Sidhom Peterson, American University in Cairo Press, 1899.

Amin, Samir. *Eurocentrism, Modernity, Religion, and Democracy: A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism*. Translated by Russell Moore and James Membrez, Monthly Review Press, 2009.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Verso, 2000.

Antun, Rosa. *Jam'iyyat al-Sayyidat al-khayriyya fi'l-Iskandriyya," al-Sayyidat wa'l-Banat (Ladies and Girls*. no. 8, 1906, pp. 211–15.

Apter, Emily. *French Colonial Studies and Postcolonial Theory, France's Identity Crises*. no. 1 and 2, The Johns Hopkins University Press,", 1995.

Apter, Emily S. "Acting Out Orientalism: Sapphic Theatricality in Turn-of-the-Century Paris." *Performance and Cultural Politics*, edited by Elin Diamond, Routledge, 1996.

---. *Continental Drift: From National Characters to Virtual Subjects*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

---. *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the Century France*. Cornell University Press, 1991.

---. *Harem: Scopic Regimes of Power/Phallic Law," Continental Drift: From National Characters to Virtual Subjects*. The University of Chicago Press, 1999.

---. "Weaponizing the Femme Fatale: Rachilde's Lethal Amazon, La Marquise de Sade." *Fashion Theory*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2004, pp. 251–56.

Arafa, Bahiga. *The Social Activities of the Egyptian Feminist Union*. Elias Modern Press, 1973.

Archibald, Alison. *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*. 4th ed., vol. 2, Longman, 1815.

Armstrong, Nancy. *Desire and Domestic Fiction*. Oxford University Press, 1987.

---. *How Novels Think*. Columbia University Press, 2005.

Arnold, Mathew. *Culture and Anarchy*. Courier Corporation, 2014.

Asad, Talal. *Formations of the Secular*. Stanford University Press, 2003.

Austin, J. L. *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. Oxford University Press, 1980.

'Aziz, Abd hassan. *Durus al-akhlaq al-maqadara 'al tulab al-sana al-ula*. Ministry of Public Instruction, 1887.

Badawi, Mohammed Mustafa. "The Father of the Modern Egyptian Theatre: Ya'qūb Ṣannū." *Journal of Arabic Literature*, vol. 16, 1985, p. 139.

Badran, Margot. "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt, 1870-1925"." *Feminist Issues*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1988, pp. 15–34.

---. "Feminism in a Nationalist Century." *Al-Ahram Weekly*, Dec. 1999.

---. *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Princeton University Press, 1995.

Bagehot, Walter. "The People of the Arabian Nights." *National Review*, vol. 9, July 1859.

Baignières, Paul De. *L'Egypte satirique : Album d'Abou Naddara illustré de 48 pages de gravures*. Imprimerie Lefebvre, 1886.

Baron, Beth. *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*. University of California.

---. "Readers and the Women's Press in Egypt." *Poetics Today*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1994.

---. "The Construction of National Honor in Egypt." *Gender and History*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1993, pp. 244–55.

---. *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press*. Yale University Press, 1997.

Baruji, Mahmud Omar. *Durar Al-Bahiya Fi al-Rihla al-Urubawiya (an Account of the Journey to the Exposition Universelle in Paris, and the Eight International Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm, 1889*. Cairo, 1891.

Bataille, George. *L'Erotisme*. Les Editions Minuit, 1957.

Battutah's, Ibn. *Tuḥfat An-Nuẓẓār Fī Gharā'ib al-Amṣār Wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār (1354*. al-Ihsane Printing Press, 1904.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Le Peintre de La Vie Moderne*. Le Figaro, 1863.

---. *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Auguste Poulet-Malassis, 1857.

---. *Les Paradis Artificiels*. Gallimard, 1860.

---. *Mon Coeur Mis à Nu*. 1887.

---. *Peintre de la Vie Moderne*. Le Figaro, 1863.

Baudrillard, Jean. *De La Séduction*. Galilee, 1980.

Bayomi, Khalid. "Nahda Visions and Political Realities in the Arab East." *Third Nordic Conference on Middle-Eastern Studies: Ethnic Encounter and Cultural Change*, 1995, www.smi.uib.no/paj/Bayomi.html.

Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Devolution*. Duke University Press, 1994.

---. *Camera Orientalis: Reflections on Photography of the Middle East*. University of Chicago Press, 2016.

---. *Photography's Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representation*. Translated by Co-Ed Luke Garland, Getty Publications, 2013.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Schocken Books, 1969.

---. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Translated by Harry Zohn Illuminations, Schocken Books, 1969.

Berque, Jacques. *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution*. Translated by John Stewart, Faber and Faber, 1972.

Bhabha, Homi. *Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse*. no. cipleship, 1984, pp. 125–33.

Bhabha, Homi K. "The Location of Culture." *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, 1994.

Black, Lynette C. "Baudelaire as Dandy: Artifice and the Search for Beauty." *Nineteenth Century French Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1–2, 1988, pp. 186–95.

Booth, Marilyn. *From Slave Market to Paradise: The Harem Pictures of John Frederick Lewis and Their Traditions*. 1987.

---, editor. *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*. Duke University Press, 2010.

---. *May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt*. University of

California Press, 2001.

---. *Multiple Wives: Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800-1875*. Associated University Press, 2002.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, 1984.

---. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, Polity Press, 1991.

---. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice, 1977.

Brevik-Zender, Heidi. *Maupassant, Transformation, and the Unexotic Exotic." Fashioning Spaces: Mode and Modernity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Burke, Edmund. "On the Sublime and Beautiful. Reflections on the French Revolution. A Letter to a Noble Lord." *The Harvard Classics,* edited by Charles W. Eliot, vol. 25, Collier, 1909.

Bustānī, Salīm. "Iftitāḥīyāt Majallat al-jinān al-Bayrūtīyah, 1870-1884." *Iftitāḥīyāt Majallat al-jinān al-Bayrūtīyah, 1870-1884*, Al-Ṭab'ah 1., Dār al-Ḥamrā', 1990.

Ceccato, Dorigo and Rosella. "Autobiographical Features in the Works of Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ." *Writing the Self. Autobiographical Writing in Modern Arabic Literature*, edited by Robin Ostle et al., Saqi Books, 1998, pp. 51–60.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

---. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton University Press, 2000.

---. "The Difference-Deferral of a Colonial Modernity." *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 36, no. 1, 1993, pp. 1–34.

Chateaubriand. *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*. Normant, 1812.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton University Press, 1993.

Chelley, Jacque. "Le Molière Egyptien." *Abu Naddara*, Aug. 1906.

Clancy-Smith, Julia Ann. “Where Elites Meet: Harem Visits, Sea Bathing, and Sociabilities in Precolonial Tunisia, c. 1800-1881.” *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, 1800-1900*, University of California Press, 2011.

Clifford, Geertz. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books, 1973.

Clifford, James. “Of Other Peoples: Beyond the ‘Salvage’ Paradigm.” *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, vol. 1, 1989.

Colby, Sasha. “The Literary Archaeologies of Théophile Gautier.” *Comparative Literature and Culture*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2006, pp. 5–7.

Cole, Juan R. I. “Of Crowds and Empires: Afro-Asian Riots and European Expansion, 1875 1882.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 31, 1989, pp. 106–33.

Cooper, Ashley, and Earl of Shaftesbury Anthony. *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*. Edited by Lawrience Klein, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. MIT Press, 1990.

Crébillon, Claude-Prosper Jolyot de. *Œuvres complètes.* [Réimpression de l’edition de Londres, 1777]., Slatkine Reprints, 1968.

Cromer, Lord. *Abbas II*. Macmillan, 1915.

Culbert, John. *Paralyses: Literature, Travel, and Ethnography in French Modernity*. University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

Cuno, Kenneth M. *Modernizing Marriage: Family, Ideology, and Law in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth Century Egypt*. Syracuse University Press, 2015.

Dahab, F. Elizabeth. “Théophile Gautier and the Orient.” *Comparative Literature and Culture*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1999, pp. 2–7.

De Man, Paul. “The Rhetoric of Romanticism.” *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*, Columbia University Press, 1984.

DelPlato, Joan. “Dress and Undress: Clothing and Eroticism in Nineteenth-Century Visual Representation of the Harem.” *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*, edited by Madeleine Dobie.

---. *From Slave Market to Paradise: The Harem Pictures of John Frederick Lewis and*

Their Traditions. UMI, 1987.

---. *Multiple Wives: Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800-1875*. Associated University Presses, 2002.

Depping, George Bernard. *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations*. Mairet & Fournier, 1842.

Descartes, Rene. "Discourse on the Method." *Philosophical Writings*, edited by Elizabeth Anscombe and Peter Thomas Geach, Thomas Nelson, 1970, pp. 15–16.

Dobie, Madeleine. *Foreign Bodies: Gender, Language, and Culture in French Orientalism*. Stanford University Press, 2001.

Duffy, Larry. *Le Grand Transit Moderne: Mobility, Modernity, and French Naturalist Fiction*. Rodopi, 2005.

---. *Le Grand Transit Moderne: Mobility, Modernity, and French Naturalist Fiction*. Rodopi, 2005.

Durkheim, Yves, and Dominique Prin. *Economie de la construction au Caire*. Le Harmattan Villes et Entreprises, 1987.

Eagleton, Terry. "Schiller and Hegemony." *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, Blackwell Publishers, 1990.

Ebhardt, Isabelle. *Œuvres complètes : écrits sur le sable*. Edited by Ed Marie-Odile Delacour and Jean René Huleu, B. Grasset, 1900.

El-Ariss, Tarek. "Trials of Arab Modernity : Literary Affects and the New Political." *Trials of Arab Modernity : Literary Affects and the New Political*, First edition., Fordham University Press, 2013.

Eli, James Adams. "Gentleman, Dandy, Priest: Manliness and Social Authority in Pater's Aestheticism." *ELH*, 1999.

Elias, Norbert. *Power and Civility*. Pantheon, 1982.

---. *The Court Society*. Blackwell, 1983.

Ellis, Mathew. "Repackaging the Egyptian Monarchy: Faruk in the Public Spotlight, 1936 1939." *History Compass*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2009, pp. 181–213.

El-shakry, Marwa. *Reading Darwin in Arabic*. The University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Ener, Mine. *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800–1952*. Princeton University Press, 2003.

Esmeir, Samera. *Juridical Humanity: A Colonial History*. Stanford University Press, 2014.

Euben, Roxane. *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton University Press, 2006.

Fahmi, Khaled. *All the Pasha's Men: Mohamed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt*. the American University in Cairo Press, 2010.

Falco, R. "The Erotic Sacrament: Max Weber and Georges Bataille." *Max Weber Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2007, pp. 13–36.

Falco, Raphael. *The Erotic Sacrament*. Max Weber Studies, 2007.

Falco, Raphael L. 'Érotisme. Les Editions de Minuit, 1957.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press, 1968.

Farabi. *Kitab al-Musiqa al-Kabir.Cairo*. Dar al-ktaib al-Arabi lil-Tibaah walal-Nashr, 1967.

Farag, Nadia al Muqtataf. *1876-1900: A Study of the Influence of Victorian Thought on Modern Arabic Thought*. Oxford University, 1969.

Fikri, Amin Muhammad. *Irshad al-alibba' ila mahasin Urubba*. Maṭbaʿat al Muqtaṭa, 1892.

Flaubert, Gustave. *Correspondances*. Louis Conard, 1850.

---. *Madame Bovary*. Michel Lévy Frères, 1856.

---. *Salammbo*. G. Charpentier, 1883.

---. *Voyage en Egypte*. Edited by Ed Pierre-Marc Biasi, Grasset, 1881.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, 1995.

---. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Translated by Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, 1982.

---. *The Order of Things*. Routledge, 2002.

Galland, Antoine. *Voyage à Constantinople, 1672-1673*. Edited by Ed Charles Henry Auguste Schefer, Maisonneuve et Larose, 2002.

Garson, Marjorie. *Moral Taste: Aesthetics, Subjectivity, and Social Power in the Nineteenth Century Novel*. University of Toronto Press, 2007.

---. *Moral Taste: Aesthetics, Subjectivity, and Social Power in the Nineteenth Century Novel*. University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Gautier, Théophile. *La Morte Amoureuse*. La Chronique de Paris, 1836.

---. *Le Roman de la momie*. Garnier Flammarion, 1858.

---. *L'Orient. Voyages et voyageurs*. Charpentier, 1877.

---. *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. Charpentier, 1834.

---. *The Romantic Ballet*. Translated by Cyril W. Beaumont, Wyman and Sons, 1932.

Geertz, Gendzier, and Irene L. *The Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'*. Harvard University Press, 1966.

Georgescu, Constantine. *A Forgotten Pioneer of the Lebanese Nahdah*. New York University, 1978.

Gershoni, Israel, and James Jankowski. *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930*. Oxford University Press, 1986.

Giesen, Bernhard. *Inbetweenness and Ambivalence*. Edited by Agnes Horvath et al., Berghahn Books, 2015.

Goldschmidt, Arthur. *The Egyptian Nationalist Party: 1892-1919." Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt: Historical Studies from the Ottoman Conquest to the United Arab Republic*. Edited by P.M. Holt, Oxford University Press, 1968.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited by Q.Hoare ed and G.Nowell smith, 1971.

Gran, Peter. *Islamic Roots of Capitalism: Egypt, 1760-1840*. Syracuse University Press, 1998.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Culture*. Edited by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin, The University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Guichard, Francoise. *Flaubert, Voyage en Orient." Sollers, L'Égyptien de la famille*. La Guerre du Goût, 1994.

Gunaym, ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd. *Ṣanūʿ Rāʾid al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī (Ṣanūʿ, Pioneer of the Arabic Theatre*. ad-Dār al-Qawmiyya li-ṭ-Ṭibāʻa wa-n-Našr, 1966.

Gutas, Dimitri. *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʻAbbāsid Society*. Routledge, 1998.

Hahn, H. Hazel. *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*. PALLGRAVE MCMILLAN, 2009.

Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī. "Kitāb khatm al-awliyā'." *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā'*, al-Maṭbaʻah al-kāthūlīkīyah, 1965.

Halim, Hala. *Alexandrian Cosmopolitanism*. Fordham University Press, 2013.

Ḥāmid, Raʾūf ʻAbbās. "The Large Landowning Class and the Peasantry in Egypt, 1837-1952." *The Large Landowning Class and the Peasantry in Egypt, 1837-1952*, 1st ed., Syracuse University Press, 2011.

Hanson, Ellis. *Decadent Catholicism*. Harvard University Press, 1998.

Harkness, Nigel. *Visions/Revisions : Essays on Nineteenth-Century French Culture*. P. Lang, 2003.

Hashim, Labiba. *Shahirat Al-Nisa'," Fatat al-Sharq (The Young Woman of the East*. no. 3, 1907, pp. 81–82.

Hawthorne, Melanie. "Gautier's Roman de La Momie." *The French Review*, vol. 66, no. 5, 1993, pp. 718–29.

Hegel, G. W. F. *The Philosophy of Fine Art*. 1920, p. 14.

Heidegger, H. S. Martin. *'The Age of the World Picture.' The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*. Translated by William Lovitt, Harper and Row, 1977.

Herrera, Linda. "The Soul of the Nation'-`Abdallah Nadim and Educational Reform in Egypt (1845-1896." *Mediterranean Journal of Education Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2002, p. 1.

Hilmi, Abbas. *Khedive of Egypt: Memoirs of Abbas Hilmi II*. Edited by Amira Sonbol, Ithaca Press, 1998.

Hoffenberg, Peter H. *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. University of California Press, 2001.

Home, Henry. *Elements of Criticism*. 11th ed., B. Blacke, 1761.

Hourani, Albert. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*. Cambridge University Press, 1983.

---. "Egyptian Nationalism." *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, pp. 199–209.

Hunter, Robert. *Egypt under the Khedives, 1805−1872: From Household to Modern Bureaucracy*. The American University in Cairo Press, 2000.

Husayn, Taha. *Hadith al-Shi'r wa'l- Nathr*. 2nd ed., Dar al-Ma'arif, 1948.

---. *Mustaqbal Al-Thaqafa Fi Misr*. Matbaʿat al-Maʿarif wa-Maktabatuha, 1938.

Husserl, E. *Phanomenologische Psychologie Vorlesungen Sommersemester 1925, Hua IX*, edited by W. Biemel, Nijhoff, 1968.

Huysmans, Joris-Karl. *A Rebours*. Charpentier, 1884.

Jacob, Wilson. *Working Out Egypt: Masculinity and Subject Formation between Colonial Modernity and Nationalism, 1870–1940'*. New York University, 2005.

Kader, Abdel, et al. "Egyptian Women in a Changing Society." *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 22, no. 2, Dec. 1988, pp. 307–09.

Kahf. *Mohja Western Representations of the Muslim Woman: From Termagant to Odalisque*. University of Texas Press, 1999.

Kamil, Ali Fahmy. *Mustafa Kamil Pasha Fi 32 Rabi'an: Siratuhu Wa A`maluhu Min Khutab Wa Rasa'il Siyasiyya Wa `umraniyya 9 Vols*. al-Liwa' Press, 1908.

Kamil, Mustafa. *Awraq Mustafa Kamil: Al-murasalat*. al-Hayi'a al-Misriyya al-'Ama lil Kitab, 1982.

---. *Lettres Egyptiennes Françaises adressées à Mme Juliette Adam, 1895–1908.* Madrasit Mustafa Kamil, 1909.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1991, pp. 429–43.

Kauffman, Linda S. *Discourses of Desire: Gender, Genre, and Epistolary Fictions*. 1986.

Kedourie, Elie. *Afghani and Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam*. Frank Cass, 1997.

Khaldoun, Ibn. *Abu Zayd Ibn Muhammad. Al-Muqaddima*. Dar Ihya' al Turath al-'Arabi, 1960.

Khalil, Mohamed, and Mohamed Ali. *The Italian Architecture in Alexandria, Egypt*. Université Kore Enna, 2008.

Khallat, Ibn Ni'mat Allah and Dimitri. *Sifr Al-Safar Ila Ma'rad al-Hadar (An Account of the World Exhibition of 1889*. Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1891.

Kilani, Kamil. *Al-Malik al-Najjar*. Matbaʿat al-Maʿrifa, 1935.

Kilidar, Abbas. "Shykh 'Ali Yusuf: Egyptian Journalist and Islamic NationEvaalist." *Intellectual Life in the Arab East*, edited by Marwan R. Buheiry, American University of Beirut Press, 1981, pp. 1890–939.

King, Karen L. "The Politics of Syncretism and the Problem of Defining Gnosticism: Historical Reflections." *Réflexions Historiques*, vol. 27, no. 3, 2001.

Kudsi-Zadeh, Albert. "The Emergence of Political Journalism in Egypt." *The Muslim World*, vol. 70, 1980, pp. 47–55.

Kudsi-Zadeh, Albert A. "Afghānī and Freemasonry in Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 1, 1972, p. 25 35.

Lacan, Jacques. *Ecrits*. Editions du Seuil, 1966.

Laclos, and Pierre Choderlos. *Les liaisons dangereuses*. Durand Neveu, 1782.

Lamartine. *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages, pendant un voyage en orient*.

1832.

Landau, Jacob. "Abû Naḍḍâra, an Egyptian-Jewish Nationalist." *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 3, 1952, p. 33 44.

---. *Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969.

Landau, Jacob and Edward. "A Study of Secret Societies in Modern Egypt." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 1, 1965, p. 135 186 ,.

Lane, Edward. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians*. Charles

Knight, 1836.

Livingston, John W. “Western Science and Educational Reform in the Thought of Shaykh Rifa"a al-Tahtawi.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 28, 1996, pp. 544–45.

Lloyd, David. *Nationalism and Minor Literature*. University of California Press, 1987.

Lloyd, David, and Paul Thomas. *Culture and the State*. Routledge, 1998.

Long, Richard A., and Eva Jones. “Towards a Definition of ‘the Decadent Novel.” *College English*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1961, pp. 245–49.

Loti Pierre. *Les Trois dames de la Kasbah. 1884*. Calmann Levy, 1924.

Lotman, J. M. *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*. Tauris, 1990.

Louca, Anwar. *Voyageurs et Ecrivains Egyptiens en France en IXIe Siècle*. Didier, 1970.

Lowe, Donald. *History of Bourgeois Perception*. The University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Lowe, Lise. *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*. Cornell University Press, 1991.

Marivaux, Pierre Carlet de. *Le paysan parvenu*. Garnier Flammarion, 1734.

Marsot, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid. *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations*. Praeger, 1969.

Marsot, Lutfi and Afaf. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammod Ali*. Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Marx, Carl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Edited by Samuel Moore et al., Translated by Translated, Charles H. Kerr & Co, 1932.

Massad, Joseph A. *Desiring Arabs*. The University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Matthee, Rudi. “Jamal Al-Din al-Afghani and Egyptian National Debate.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 21, 1989, p. 152 153.

Maupassant, Guy de. *A la Feuille de Rose, maison turque*. Nouvelle Société des Editions Encre, 1875.

---. *Bel Ami*. Victor-Havard, 1885.

Merleau-Ponty, M. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. Translated by C. Smith, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962.

Mesch, Rachel. *Having It All in the Belle Epoque: How French Women's Magazines Invented the Modern Woman*. Stanford University Press, 2013.

Mickelwright, Nancy. "Domestic Interiors in Photography from the Late Ottoman World." *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*, edited by Marilyn Booth, Duke University Press, 2010.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*. University of California Press, 1991.

---. "The World as Exhibition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 31, no. 2, 1989, pp. 217–36.

Montagu, Mary Wortley. *Letters*. Edited by Ed Isobel Grundy, Penguin, 1763.

Montesquieu. *Lettres Persanes*. Chez Pierre Marteau, 1721.

Moore, Sally, and Barbara Myerhoff. *Secular Ritual*. Van Gorcum, 1977.

Moosa, Matti. *Ya'qub Ṣanu': Mūlyīr Miṣr wa-mā yuqāsīhi (Molière d'Egypte et ce qu'il endure*. al-Maṭba'a al-Adabiyya, 1912.

---. "Ya'qub Sanu' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt." *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 5, 1974, p. 402.

Morrison, Heidi. *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

---. *Nation-Building and Childhood in Early Twentieth Century Egypt" Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*. Edited by C. Benjamin, Fortna, Brill, 2016.

Murphy, Margueritte S. M. S. *Material Figures: Political Economy, Commercial Culture, and the Aesthetic Sensibility of Charles Baudelaire*. Rodopi, 2012.

Muwaylihi, Mohamed. *Hadith Isa ibn Hisham*. 6th ed., Dar al Ma'arif, 1943.

Naga, Abul and Atia. *Les sources françaises du théâtre egyptien, 1870–1839*. Altamira Rotopress, 1972.

Najwa, Ibrahim' Anus. *Masrah Ya'qub Sannu'*. al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al 'Amma lil-Kitab, 1984.

Naqqash, Marun. *Arzat Lubnan*. Imprimerie Publique, 1869.

Nawawī. "Commentary on the Riyâd-Us-Sâliheen = Sharḥ Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn." *Commentary on the Riyâd-Us-Sâliheen = Sharḥ Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, First edition., Darussalam, 1999.

Nawfal, Nasim. "al-I'lan." *al-fatah*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1893, pp. 289–90.

Nerval, Gérard de. *Voyage en Orient*. Juliard, 1964.

Nikūlā ibn Yūsuf, al-Turkī. *Histoire de l'expedition des Français en Égypte*. Royale, 1839.

Nora, Pierre. *Les lieux de mémoire : Les France Vol. III, De l'archive et l'emblème*. Gallimard, 1992.

Owen, Roger. *The Middle East in the World Economy*. Methuen, 1981.

Pepicelli, Renata. "Rethinking Gender in Arab Nationalism in Oriente Moderno." *A. Nallino*, vol. 97, no. 1, 2017, pp. 201–19.

---. "Rethinking Gender in Arab Nationalism: Women and the Politics of Modernity in the Making of Nation-States. Cases from Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria." *Oriente Moderno*, vol. 97, no. 1, 2017, pp. 201–19.

Philipp, Thomas. *Syrians in Egypt*. The University of Michigan, 1985.

Pollard, Lisa. "Learning Gendered Modernity: The Home, the Family and the Schoolroom in the Construction of Egyptian National Identity (1885–1919." *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, edited by Amira Sonbol, Syracuse University Press, 2005, pp. 249–69.

---. *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt,1805 1923*. University of California Press, 2005.

---. "The Habits and Customs of Modernity: Egyptians in Europe and the Geography of Nineteenth-Century Nationalism." *The Arab Studies Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1999, pp. 52–74.

Purdy, Daniel Léon hard, editor. *The Rise of Fashion*. The University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Rachilde. *La Jongleuse*. Edited by Ed Claude Daphiné, Des Femmes, 1900.

---. *Les Hors Nature*. Book on Demand Ltd, 1897.

---. *Madame Adonis*. Ferenczi et fils, 1888.

---. *Monsieur Venus*. Flammarion, 1884.

---. *Nono.1885*. Mercure de France, 1997.

Reynolds, Joshua. *Discourses*. Edited by Pat Harmondsworth, penguin, 1992.

Ridge, George Ross. "The Femme Fatale in French Decadence." *The French Review*, vol. 34, no. 4, 1961, pp. 352–60.

Robert, Mary. *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature*. Duke University Press, 2007.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile*. Translated by Allan Bloom, Basic Books, 1979.

---. *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*. Edited by G.S. and Roy Porter, Manchester University Press, 1990.

Russell, Mona. *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education and National Identity, 1863–1922*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Ryzova, Lucie. *Egyptianizing Modernity through the 'New Effendiya.'" Re-Envisioning Egypt 1919–1952*. Edited by Arthur Goldschmidt et al., American University in Cairo Press, 2005.

Sacks, Jeffrey. *Iterations of Loss: Mutilation and Aesthetic Form, al-Shidyaq to Darwish*. Fordham UP, 2015.

Sa'd, Malaka. *Rabbat al-dar, al-'Alam al-jadid al-Nisa*. 1912, p. 156.

Sadgrove, Philip C. *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century, 1799-1882*. Ithaca Press, 1996.

Saffar, Muhammad. *rihlat al-Saffar Ila Faransa (1845-1846*. Al-Mu'assassa al-'Arabiyya li-l-Dirrasat wa-l-Nashr, 2007.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. Chatto & Windus, 1993.

---. *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, 1979.

Said, Edward W. "Orientalism." *Orientalism*, 25th Anniversary edition / with a new

preface by the author., Vintage Books, 2003.

Salama-Carr, Myriam. “Negotiating Conflict: Rifa’a Rafi’ al-Tahtawi and the Translation of the ‘Other’ in Nineteenth-Century Egypt.” *Social Semiotics*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2007, pp. 213–27, 217.

Salih, Ahmad Afandi. *ʿallimu al-atfal ma yafʿalunahu wa-hum rijal*. Al-Matbaʿa al Amira, 1894.

Santorelli, Filippo. *L’Italia in Egitto: Impressioni e Note*. Tipografia Italiana, 1894.

Sanu’, James. *L’Arabo anziano. Cairo, Nuova Tipografia di P*. Cumbo, 1869.

Sawaie, Mohammed. “Rifa’a Rafi’ al-Tahtawi and His Contribution to the Lexical Development of Modern Literary Arabic.” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 32, 2000, pp. 395–410, 401.

Schölch, A. “Constitutional Development in Nineteenth Century Egypt - a Reconsideration.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1974, pp. 3–14.

Schölch, Alexander. *Egypt for the Egyptians! : The Socio-Political Crisis in Egypt, 1878-1882*. Published for the Middle East Centre, St. Antony’s College, Oxford [by] Ithaca Press, 1981.

Selim, Samah. *The Novel and the Rural Imaginary in Egypt, 1880—1985*. RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.

Shaarawi, Huda. *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist 1879- 1924*. Edited by Margot Badran, 1986.

Shakry, El and Omnia. *Schooled Mothers and Structured Play: Child Rearing in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt*. Edited by Lila Abu-Lughod, Princeton University Press, 1998.

---. *The Great Social Laboratory*. Stanford University Press, 2007.

Sheehi, Stephen. *Foundations of Modern Arab Identity*. University Press of Florida, 2004.

Smith, Albert. *Ideal and Reality in the the Fictional Narratives of Théophile Gautier*. U of Florida P, 1969.

Smith, Bonnie G. *Ladies of the Leisure Class*. Princeton University Press, 1981.

Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American*

Art and Architecture, 1500-1920. Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Tageldin, Shaden. *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt*. University of California press, 2011.

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Tahtawi, Rifa'a Rafi. *Al-Muršid al-Amīn Li-l-Banāt Wa-l-Banīn (a Guide for the Girls and Boys*. 1872.

---. *Takhlis al Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz*. Translated by Daniel L. Newman, Saqi, 2004.

---. "al-Murshid al-amīn lil-banāt wa-al-banīn." *al-Murshid al-amīn lil-banāt wa-al-banīn*, al-Majlis al-A'lá lil-Thaqāfah, 2002.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New, vol. XII, Brill, 2004.

Tibi, Bassam. *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Enquiry*. the Mac-Millan Press Ltd, 1990.

Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsá. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī wa-huwa al-Jāmi' al-ṣahīḥ*. ٢ الطبعة., al-Maktabah al-Salafīyah, 1965.

Al-Qur'an. Princeton University Press, 1984.

Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process*. Routledge, 1995.

Vercelloni, Luca. "The Invention of Taste." *Routledge*, 2016, pp. 52–61.

Verdier, Gabrielle. "Gender and Rhetoric in Some Seventeenth-Century Love Letters." *L'esprit Createur*, vol. 23, 1983, pp. 45–57.

Viswanathan, Gauri. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. Oxford University Press, 1984.

Wagner, Ewald. *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. New, vol. VII, Brill, 1993.

Weber, Max. "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions." *Essays in Sociology*, edited by H.H. Gerth and CWright Mills, Oxford University Press, 1946.

Weeks, Emily. *Cultures Crossed: John Frederick Lewis and the Art of Orientalism*. Yale University Press, 2014.

---. *The Reality Effect': The Orientalist Paintings of John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876*. Yale University, 2004.

Wick, Alexis. "Sailing the Modern Episteme: Al-Ṭahṭāwī on the Mediterranean." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East,* vol. 34, no. 2, 2014, pp. 405–17.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society: 1870-1950*. 2nd ed., Columbia University Press, 1983.

Yeazell, Ruth Bernard. *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature*. Yale University Press, 2000.

Yusuf, Niqula Ibn and al-Turki. *Histoire de l'expédition des Français en Egypte (1839*. L'imprimerie de l'institut Français de l'archéologie Orientale, 1950.

Zaki, Ahmad. *Al Dunya Fi Baris (an Account of a Journey to the Paris World Exhibition*. Cairo, 1900.

---. *Al-Safar Il al-Mu'tamar Was Hiya al-Rasa'il Allati Katabha Ala Urubba (an Account of a Journey to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London 1892*. Cairo, 1893.

Zaydan, Jurji. *Tarikh Adab Al-Lughah al-Arabiyah (History of Arabic Literature*. al-Hilal, 1913.

Zola, Emile. *Au Bonheur des Dames*. Charpentier, 1883.

Zubaida, Sami. *Islam, the People, and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East*. Routledge, 1989.